

The University of Chicago

DIVORCE IN A CITY OF 100,000
POPULATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
1938

By
CLARENCE WESLEY SCHROEDER

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
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PREFACE

This project took shape several years ago when one of his students came into the office of the writer with a question concerning the influence of the church upon divorce. The student wished especially to know whether church membership and activity in church work was a deterrent in its relation to divorce. The idea grew, however, until the general study of divorce as a social phenomenon in a given community was undertaken. Peoria, Illinois, was thought to be an especially advantageous place in which to undertake such a study because its divorce rate was known to be high in comparison with many other communities, and because it is a typical mid-continent industrial city with no particularly distinguishing characteristics as to population composition.

First, acknowledgments are due not only to one student, but also to many others who have participated directly or indirectly in the study. Besides a group who have given their time and effort for the service which they could render toward the final result and to their own scholastic advantage, a group who have been compensated by the National Youth Administration have rendered valuable assistance. The writer is happy to acknowledge his indebtedness to the social agencies of Peoria, and to the helpful co-operation of the staffs of the local College and Public Libraries, especially to Miss Ruth Montgomery and Miss Katherine Ellis of the latter's staff. Colleagues of the writer, members of the faculty of Bradley Institute, have been untiring in their willingness to be consulted. Mention is gratefully made of Professor A. E. Gault for his assistance in certain technical phases of the study and to the Department of Mathematics for the use of equipment. Dr. Ellis K. Frye has read the manuscript and made helpful criticisms and suggestions. Dr. Frederic R. Hamilton has been a constant source of encouragement. The aid of several citizens in the securing of data has been invaluable, especially the help of Father Edward Farrell,

director of the Peoria office of the Catholic Charities. Finally, Rena Wilson Schroeder has rendered valuable aid in the labor and her unflagging interest and encouragement have been largely responsible for its completion.

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INTRODUCTION

THE DIVORCE QUESTION

According to the Bureau of the Census, there were in 1930 more than a million divorced persons in the United States. That this figure is in all probability a large understatement of the case, the most superficial study of the figures will reveal. These million persons represent merely those who name themselves "divorced persons" at the time the census enumerator called. For the six year period, 1927 to 1932, inclusive, 2,224,076 persons in the country were granted divorce decrees, and while the death rate among divorced persons is somewhat higher than is the average in the population as a whole,¹ by no stretch of the imagination could the discrepancy in the figures be accounted for on this basis. The answer is to be found, of course, in the fact that many, perhaps almost all of those who have remarried, as well as those who have not, do not tell the census enumerator that they have been divorced.

The problem may be complicated indefinitely if the complete answer were to be sought. Differences in the statistics and their interpretation are to be found in studies of Cahen and Rubinow.² The latter would account for the small number of divorced persons in the country on the basis of their early remarriage, while the former would insist that the explanation lies largely in the "understatement" of divorced persons in the country by the Bureau of the Census. It is no part of the purpose here to enter into the controversy nor to attempt an explanation. It is sufficient to our purpose to point out

¹See E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928), pp. 137 ff.

²Alfred Cahen, Statistical Analysis of Divorce (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), chap. vii, and I. M. Rubinow, Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce (Philadelphia, 1936). The former's conclusion is "that only 35% of divorced persons remarry" (p. 108), while the latter insists that "the vast majority of divorces, at least 80%, lead to early remarriage" (p. 36). Rubinow also believes that the continued increase in the marriage rate is to be accounted for by the increase in divorce rate and the consequent marriage.

that the number given by the Bureau of the Census is an understatement of the number of divorced persons.

In addition to statistics which reveal at least in part what the general problem of divorce is, there are the more personal aspects which are best portrayed by persons who have had direct experience. The fact that a divorce has been granted means that crises have arisen in human lives. Divorce means that the domestic institution, marriage and family life, have broken down. It means the blocking rather than the fulfillment of personality. Revelations of these difficulties come from case records, testimony from those who have participated in the process of family disorganization. A divorce decree is public recognition of a process of frustration that has been proceeding in the lives of at least two persons for an indefinite period. A few excerpts from case records will serve to present briefly this aspect of the general subject. The first one is from an anonymous article appearing in Harper's Magazine in 1932 written by a woman. She says:

My suspicion is that no wife, however driven by exasperation or despair to divorce, escapes scars similar to those I am aware of in my own experience. Nor does she, I am sure, go through the subsequent years without a thousand recurrences of that first sense of mutual bereavement, no matter how stubbornly she may hide them.¹

And in another number of the same magazine in the same year, a man writing anonymously also, puts his case thus:

There was easy divorce brought right to my fireside, to the bedside of my little girl and boy. With merciless irony, it put out the fire in the fireplace, it took the little girl and boy away, it made the house, once so cheerful, as only children can make a home, a place uninhabitable, unendurable. It lowered my pride, broke my spirit, undermined my ambition.²

A summary statement of a Peoria (the community which forms the focal point of the present study) young woman who a few years ago was married, lived with her husband for ten months and only recently secured her divorce summarizes her case in the following language:

¹Quoted by Hornell Hart, Personality and the Family (D. C. Heath and Company, 1935), p. 185.

²Quoted ibid.

The ten months I lived with him were months of torture. What the attempt and failure because of inadequate preparation for marriage did to the personalities of us both cannot as yet be measured. Every day, even now, the horror of the various experiences rise before me and I am only trying to live them down by forgetting. Of course, I can't forget and I shall never be able to forget it all. Compensations? Yes, perhaps! Of course, I shall avoid the same errors again, but it was a lesson too tragically expensive and out of all proportion to the gain.¹

One more quotation from a case record will perhaps be sufficient for an introduction to this phase of the problem, this one from a child of a family where all the aspects of disorganization were present from the very first and yet a family where divorce came late and in the unfruitful soil of which children were born and reared. This young man curses the fate that gave him birth in this soil. The following paragraphs follow his discussion of murder as a crime, and he is horrified in quite the conventional fashion by it. But there is a crime infinitely worse, he believes. These are his words:

The taking of human life! As I reflect upon this phrase and consider its objective and weigh its consequences and measure its sociological effects, there impresses itself upon my consciousness another crime,--a crime which stalks the earth in the guise of a virtue, all its malice and heartlessness veiled by religious sanction and social approval, a crime which is so general that it has become an integral function of our social order. And yet this crime seems to me the father of all crime, the master key which unlocks the door to all the other lesser sins and vices, the "dragon's teeth" from which springs the fearful harvest of hatred, rebellion, and revenge, of heartaches and soulsickness, of despondency and despair, a crime which is alone responsible for creating that hell on earth from which there is no other escape save through the coward's passage of self-destruction. The crime in comparison to which the taking of human life seems but a petty offense is the crime of giving life, the bringing into the world a soul and dooming it from its very outset to all that is cold and cruel and selfish in this world. The world is eagerly striving to pluck and destroy the poisonous fruits which have long been imperiling the very life of society, but it seems to be entirely unmindful of the roots and underground from which these fruits receive their life blood.

There comes to my mind an old Norse tale, the legend of the Mischief-maker, Loki and his mating with the evil giantess, Angurboda,--a union of cunning and revenge, of malice and evil desire, of perverted good and innate evil. A union from which sprung the hideous trio, Hel, Midgard-Serpent, and Fenris-Wolf, who stalked the earth in all their power of

¹Unpublished manuscript.

evil, leaving a long trail of crime, suffering, and unhappiness, until they were cast into the outer darkness by the Allfather where they continued to breed poisons which were later to cause the destruction of the world. And yet I see a ghastly repetition of the moral of this legend in a union in which I have been deeply concerned, a union of brutal passion and selfish ambition with blind and unreasoning worship and cowed submissiveness, a union devoid of love and reverence and a sense of sacredness on one side and of maternal desire and consecration on the other. And like the progeny of Loki, the children from this union were from the very outset doomed to a life of unhappiness, hopelessness and despair. And they, too, were finally cast out from the faith and the hope and the love that should have been their birthright and became enemies to themselves, to society and to their God.¹

The most significant studies of divorce as a nationwide phenomenon are: Divorce, A Social Interpretation by J. P. Lichtenberger, Statistical Analysis of Divorce, by Alfred Cahen, and Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce, by I. M. Rubinow. Lichtenberger has employed what he calls three types of approach in his study, viz., "the historical, statistical and the expository." It is a general study resulting from a survey of the figures available for the country as a whole. Cahen's study is a statistical analysis with a definite historic background. For some of his data he goes back as far as the Civil War. Cahen calls his study one of "problems in social causation primarily quantitative although many view-points are examined." Rubinow also employs nationwide statistics for a study of trends in the marriage and divorce rates and an analysis of the "various relationships between these two trends." The most significant study made so far of domestic disorganization in a given community is the one produced by Ernest R. Mowrer after a study made in Chicago and published under the title, Family Disorganization.

The present study is an attempt at analysis of the factors which make for family disorganization in Peoria, Illinois, a quite typical mid-continent industrial city of slightly more than a hundred thousand population. It is an attempt to reveal factors in the divorce phenomenon in a given American community. In order to do this, not only the divorce rate must be studied in its historical setting, but a comparison in its historical aspects, with the State of which the community is a part, with

¹Unpublished manuscript.

Cook County, its giant metropolitan neighbor, and of the country as a whole, has proved enlightening. Some data are available for as far back as 1867.

An understanding of the basic social and economic characteristics of the community in which the study is made is essential. One section of the present work deals with these characteristics.

For the purpose of studying divorce as carefully as possible inside the given community, the City is divided in three different ways; viz., bluff and valley section; into ten wards; and into Enumeration Districts which were employed by the Bureau of the Census in 1930. Fifty-four of the latter are employed in this study for the purpose of making a detailed analysis of divorce and other factors with which divorce is compared and correlated.

The more personal aspects of divorce are studied by means of questionnaires, the detailed questions of which were answered by some four hundred divorced persons.

CHAPTER I

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN PEORIA, 1867 TO 1932

In 1930 the Census Bureau listed 2,422 divorced persons in Peoria County or 22.3 for each thousand persons fifteen years of age and above. This lacks only a little of being double the proportion for the country as a whole and it is approximately twice the proportion for the entire state of Illinois. In Table 1 are given the comparative figures for the three units.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF DIVORCED PERSONS IN THE POPULATION (15 YEARS AND OVER) IN THE UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS, AND PEORIA, 1930

	No. of Divorced Persons	Population 15 Years or Over	Divorced Persons per 1,000 Population 15 Years and Over
United States	1,062,626	86,718,170	12.3
Illinois	75,748	6,649,857	11.4
Peoria County	2,422	108,366	22.3

The foregoing figures reflect the fact that in comparison with the United States and Illinois, the number of divorced persons in Peoria County, is proportionately large, and this condition must have persisted for a period of some years to produce the large discrepancy in the figures. A study of the detailed data given in Appendix I, reveals this to be the case. So far as the figures are available from 1867 to the present time the divorce rate of Peoria County has been higher than the rate in the other geographic units. In the same appendix, figures on marriage and divorce are also given for Cook County, Illinois. These are included because it has been demonstrated recently that the high divorce rates occur particularly in urban areas and Cook County contains Chicago with its 1930 population

of 3,376,438. Lichtenberger¹ has shown that in ten states which contain large cities, with the exception of New York State and city, that the urban areas have higher divorce rates than the states in which they are located. The data which he presents for Cook County in comparison with the state of Illinois are most significant in this connection and reveal that in 1929 the state had 18.8 divorces per hundred marriages while in Cook County the comparative figure was 23.0. He presents the data also for the years 1927, 1922, and 1916 with no important differences in the proportion of divorces per hundred marriages, Peoria County in 1929 had 33.2, a rate approximately one-half higher.

Table 2 presents the rates for each of these geographical divisions derived from the figures given in Appendix I. The divorce rates in this table are the number of marriages per divorce. This type of divorce index has been attacked as well as defended. The difficulty seems to lie in the tendency to interpret it to mean that the number of marriages of any particular year terminated in divorce during that same year. There must be a guarding against this interpretation. But when the relationship between marriage and divorce is maintained over an extended period of time, use of this index is legitimate and revealing. Moreover, the divorce rate based upon definite population figures is impossible for most of the years, and the number of marriages per divorce is an index as useful, at least, as a rate based upon an estimate of the population.²

It is to be noted, further, that those figures in Appendix I as well as the derived rates in Table 2 upon which Chart 1 is based, for the years 1933, 1934, and 1935 are estimates made by Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer.³

¹J. P. Lichtenberger, Divorce, a Social Interpretation (New York, 1931), p. 118 ff. See especially table p. 120.

²For a critical statement concerning the marriages per divorce index, see I. M. Rubinow, Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 14-15.

³See their discussion in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CLXXXVIII (November, 1936), 56 ff.

TABLE 2

DIVORCE RATES OF UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS,
COOK COUNTY AND PEORIA COUNTY
(MARRIAGES PER DIVORCE)
1867 TO 1937

Year	United States	Illinois	Chicago	Peoria
1937	.	.	.	2.19
1936	.	.	.	3.11
1935	6.09	.	.	3.32
1934	6.38	.	.	2.98
1933	6.65	.	.	3.23
1932	6.12	5.54	3.83	2.81
1931	5.77	5.16	3.83	2.43
1930	5.88	4.92	3.85	2.54
1929	6.12	5.34	4.35	3.01
1928	6.03	5.08	4.00	2.69
1927	6.26	5.35	4.41	2.94
1926	6.65	5.84	4.82	2.83
1925	6.72	5.78	4.89	3.38
1924	6.93	5.99	4.89	3.01
1923	7.45	6.82	5.95	3.96
1922	7.62	6.80	5.86	4.19
1921	7.29	.	.	3.60
1920	7.47	.	.	3.55
1919	8.13	.	.	3.55
1918	8.60	.	.	3.45
1917	9.41	.	.	3.14
1916	9.29	8.00	7.48	4.83
1915	9.66	.	.	4.31
1914	10.19	.	.	4.40
1913	11.18	.	.	7.67
1912	10.65	.	.	6.66
1911	10.70	.	.	5.17
1910	11.41	.	.	6.81
1909	11.26	.	.	6.68
1908	11.15	.	.	5.30
1907	12.23	.	.	6.95
1906	11.84	9.03	8.08	4.79
1905	11.83	9.23	8.13	4.79
1904	11.79	9.22	8.10	5.86
1903	12.10	9.33	8.70	7.15
1902	12.14	9.21	8.04	5.86
1901	11.76	8.98	7.76	6.63
1900	12.29	9.48	8.13	5.89
1899	12.64	9.25	8.03	5.42
1898	13.07	9.49	8.00	6.74

TABLE 2-Continued

Year	United States	Illinois	Chicago	Peoria
1897	13.92	9.72	8.62	6.21
1896	14.29	10.20	9.14	7.02
1895	14.82	11.16	10.75	7.36
1894	15.07	11.41	10.40	6.78
1893	15.44	12.80	13.74	7.91
1892	15.79	12.91	13.17	8.34
1891	15.93	13.01	13.83	9.28
1890	16.21	.	13.63	10.04
1889	16.74	.	14.03	10.38
1888	17.59	.	15.09	9.81
1887	17.30	.	13.13	11.25
1886	.	.	12.93	7.51
1885	.	.	15.80	6.91
1884	.	.	15.64	8.06
1883	.	.	14.28	7.14
1882	.	.	13.28	11.69
1881	.	.	12.85	8.82
1880	.	.	10.55	7.44
1879	.	.	12.09	9.12
1878	.	.	12.18	9.09
1877	.	.	14.27	7.22
1876	.	.	15.06	7.46
1875	.	15.38	14.51	9.21
1874	.	15.14	14.14	10.80
1873	.	14.99	13.52	8.71
1872	.	14.97	12.49	9.21
1871	.	16.47	18.26	10.80
1870	.	16.58	.	13.05
1869	.	17.05	.	10.26
1868	.	17.83	.	14.45
1867	.	20.01	.	23.75

^aRate figured from estimates made by Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer.

^bRate figured from data secured from the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Peoria County.

^cRate secured from estimates of the Bureau of the Census.

CHART 1

SHOWING THE RELATIVE DIVORCE RATES (MARRIAGES PER DIVORCE) FOR
 PEORIA AND COOK COUNTIES, THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, AND
 THE UNITED STATES FOR THE PERIOD 1867 TO 1938

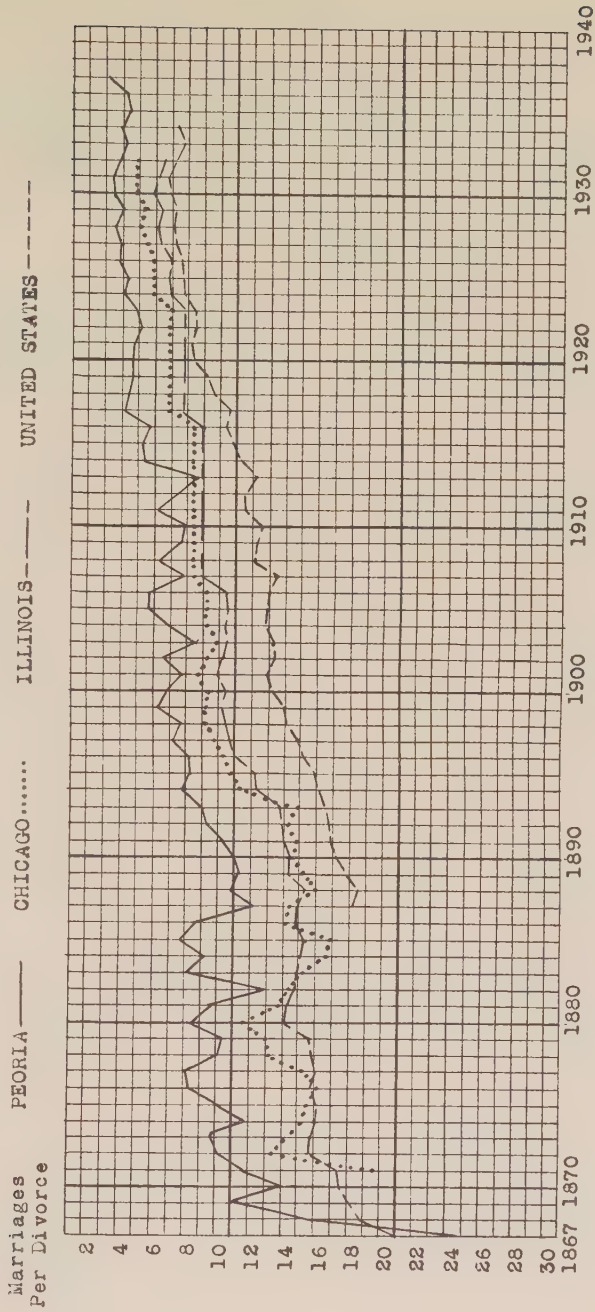


Chart 1 reveals the consistently higher divorce rate of Peoria County than that of the United States, Illinois or Cook County which is in the same state and is the second urban center in the country in point of population. The charts in Appendices II, III, and IV reveal how consistently these four geographic units maintain their positions in a comparison of the rates over the period of years. The charts are produced by the use of the number of divorces and marriages.

These data reveal the rather peculiar position which Peoria County occupies. While it is true that urban centers have higher divorce rates than the rural areas, it does not follow that the larger the urban area, the larger will be the divorce rate. The figures show that the divorce rate of the state of Illinois is somewhat higher than for the entire country; and that the rate in Chicago is considerably higher than that of Illinois, and the Peoria rate is still higher than that of Chicago.

Moreover, to make the unusual situation of this county the more apparent, the divorce rate is larger here than it is in any other county of Illinois. Table 3 is a study of the counties in the state which have in them a city or cities of considerable consequence, the population of the cities ranging from Taylorville in Christian County with only 7,316 to Peoria with its 104,969 persons. One county has a smaller population than Christian, this one being Alexander, but Cairo, its principal city, has a population of 13,532 as contrasted with that of Taylorville. In this Table, the divorce rate is given in two different ways for purposes of comparison and the data compiled from the Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of the Census (1930) concerning marriage and divorce and based upon population figures given in Volume III (Population) of the 1930 census. Complete data from which the Table is derived are found in Appendix V.

Comparison with some of the other counties in the United States, however, does not reveal that the divorce rate of Peoria County is uniquely high nor has it been during the period for which data are available. Table 4 gives in detail the number of marriages per divorce for nineteen counties, in addition to Peoria, for which there are fairly complete statistics for the

TABLE 3

TWENTY-TWO ILLINOIS COUNTIES WITH THEIR DIVORCE
RATES EXPRESSED BY TWO INDICES

County	City or Cities	Divorces Per 1000 Married Population	Marriages Per Divorce
Peoria	Peoria	9.04	2.54
Alexander	Cairo.	7.90	3.54
Madison	Edwardsville	6.49	5.52
Sangamon	Springfield.	6.33	3.63
St. Clair	East St. Louis	6.09	5.19
Champaign	Champaign & Urbana . . .	5.83	4.70
Winnebago	Rockford	5.28	6.02
Jefferson	Mount Vernon	5.06	4.59
Knox	Galesburg.	4.60	3.55
Lake	Waukegan	4.39	24.01*
Kane	Geneva	4.31	5.23
Rock Island	Rock Island.	4.30	4.56
Macon	Decatur.	4.06	4.17
Vermillion	Danville	3.78	5.118
Tazewell	Pekin.	3.51	5.111
Adams	Quincy	3.48	4.43
LaSalle	LaSalle, Peru.	3.21	5.18
Stephenson	Freeport	3.20	8.54
Christian	Taylorville.	3.02	3.23
Will	Joliet	2.83	6.85
McLean	Bloomington.	2.71	6.46
Kankakee	Kankakee	2.66	8.38

*The large number of marriages per divorce in Lake County is to be explained by the fact that Waukegan, the principal city, is a "Gretna Green," probably a mecca for couples seeking marriage both from Chicago and the state of Wisconsin, especially Milwaukee. For further explanation of this term see the U.S. Census Bureau publication, Marriage and Divorce (1930), p. 8.

period 1881 to 1932. The figures for Peoria are repeated in this table for purposes of easy comparison. It is to be noted that if graphs were to be drawn of these data, there would be comparatively little of the crossing of lines. That is, the increases and decreases, mostly the former, run rather uniformly parallel in the counties studied.

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES PER DIVORCE IN TWENTY COUNTIES
(INCLUDING PEORIA) DURING THE YEARS
1881 TO 1932

Year	Peoria Ill.	Bexar Tex.	Dallas Tex.	Harris Tex.	Tarrant Tex.	Pulaski Ark.	Sedgewick Kans.
1932	2.81	2.00	0.83	1.29	0.88	1.60	1.74
1931	2.43	1.73	0.93	1.41	0.98	1.70	1.63
1930	2.54	1.77	1.05	1.76	0.96	2.00	2.06
1929	3.01	2.12	1.68	2.10	1.62	2.40	2.17
1928	2.69	2.39	2.18	2.28	2.22	2.35	2.13
1927	2.94	2.54	2.12	2.21	2.00	2.41	2.05
1926	2.83	2.54	2.50	2.49	2.20	2.31	2.06
1925	3.38	2.65	2.83	2.20	2.35	2.48	2.30
1924	3.01	2.83	2.96	2.33	2.55	2.71	2.81
1923	3.96	3.19	3.29	2.27	2.63	4.22	2.70
1922	4.19	2.91	3.40	2.25	2.65	2.78	2.90
1916	4.83	4.77	3.70	2.87	2.82	3.22	4.63
1906	4.79	4.78	6.58	4.60	5.73	4.50	4.82
1905	4.79	4.85	6.13	4.86	6.10	4.32	6.60
1904	5.86	5.80	6.64	4.83	5.25	4.88	6.04
1903	7.15	6.13	6.33	5.29	5.80	5.36	5.39
1902	5.86	5.55	5.09	5.00	6.45	4.72	4.78
1901	6.63	4.68	5.14	3.91	6.32	6.24	5.88
1900	5.89	7.63	5.77	4.47	6.51	5.64	5.06
1899	5.42	10.41	7.00	4.68	7.59	5.17	6.30
1898	6.74	13.07	6.64	4.29	7.30	6.91	5.73
1897	6.21	10.13	7.71	5.21	7.62	7.45	5.85
1896	7.02	9.59	7.67	5.45	9.07	6.79	5.30
1895	7.36	8.14	9.08	5.87	7.47	6.50	8.21
1894	6.78	6.53	7.90	4.79	9.93	7.93	6.23
1893	7.91	7.85	9.42	3.91	8.98	6.42	8.41
1892	8.34	7.25	7.46	6.52	10.64	9.05	6.80
1891	9.28	7.85	10.35	5.83	10.75	7.90	7.60
1890	10.04	8.65	7.75	5.37	10.98	7.72	9.13
1889	10.38	11.52	9.86	7.88	8.62	9.61	10.46
1888	9.81	12.97	8.50	6.47	9.83	10.27	6.20
1887	11.25	8.70	12.14	7.81	15.66	9.09	10.78
1886	7.51	12.36	13.83	11.08	9.59	8.42	20.84
1885	6.91	21.52	16.26	11.49	15.32	9.28	18.80
1884	8.06	19.70	13.48	6.57	14.15	11.11	27.67
1883	7.14	25.48	11.95	9.62	16.10	16.34	14.40
1882	11.69	26.64	10.24	10.35	32.90	23.07	44.80
1881	8.82	25.78	13.79	11.26	45.29	11.77	24.22

TABLE 4-Continued

Year	Los Angeles Cal.	Alameda Cal.	Sacramento Cal.	Douglas Neb.	Hennepin Minn.	Santa Clara Cal.
1932	2.33	2.45	2.55	4.02	3.12	6.00
1931	2.49	2.52	2.81	3.92	3.14	5.45
1930	2.59	2.61	2.77	3.15	3.97	5.13
1929	2.76	2.99	2.72	2.76	4.51	5.12
1928	2.49	3.04	2.85	3.00	4.32	5.84
1927	2.76	3.15	3.54	2.65	4.47	6.42
1926	3.50	3.87	4.70	3.09	4.52	7.24
1925	4.33	3.52	4.64	2.84	4.71	7.64
1924	3.99	3.77	5.43	1.02	4.69	7.95
1923	5.61	4.43	4.68	2.10	5.20	10.89
1922	4.69	4.00	4.94	2.39	5.65	7.68

1916	5.24	4.72	6.73	4.25	8.04	5.45

1906	8.16	14.90	10.56	4.63	10.14	10.85
1905	8.49	8.93	7.69	4.30	9.89	9.79
1904	12.94	10.40	26.32	4.81	9.13	24.74
1903	17.03	16.09	10.75	3.80	8.57	20.60
1902	5.75	6.30	7.35	4.52	8.27	8.94
1901	4.50	6.68	5.04	4.61	9.46	9.67
1900	3.86	8.35	5.08	5.44	8.02	8.06
1899	3.71	9.54	4.31	5.71	7.14	7.30
1898	4.24	6.74	4.74	8.17	6.19	7.06
1897	4.27	7.03	6.36	6.36	5.68	7.15
1896	4.59	9.19	5.38	10.43	5.84	7.82
1895	4.50	9.21	6.69	7.48	8.48	12.57
1894	4.79	9.74	6.40	7.60	9.61	10.04
1893	5.06	8.19	6.16	9.59	10.96	12.17
1892	5.13	8.84	9.24	9.75	9.61	11.00
1891	5.27	8.49	6.15	9.90	10.29	8.43
1890	5.25	10.90	6.15	10.63	11.92	9.11
1889	6.45	9.30	5.20	13.00	9.18	11.27
1888	8.23	8.80	5.91	13.20	10.33	9.24
1887	7.72	6.68	85.87	9.43	12.69	11.20
1886	9.45	7.94	5.48	21.94	16.74	11.93
1885	9.33	10.10	6.58	22.47	17.51	7.91
1884	9.25	10.44	8.88	20.06	18.25	8.09
1883	9.02	5.03	13.08	24.58	16.84	10.48
1882	8.29	9.41	9.64	19.20	15.05	10.91
1881	9.31	8.31	11.32	22.30	18.63	10.42

TABLE 4-Continued

Year	Jack- son Mo.	San Diego Cal.	Pierce Wash.	Winne- bago Ill.	St. Clair Ill.	La Salle Ill.	Sanga- mon Ill.
1932	1.66	2.67	3.80	9.79	3.65	5.12	3.86
1931	1.70	2.38	4.12	6.93	4.25	6.21	3.86
1930	1.87	2.73	3.86	6.02	5.20	5.18	3.64
1929	2.22	3.10	4.23	7.78	4.65	6.40	4.27
1928	2.07	2.66	3.62	6.92	4.77	7.56	4.21
1927	1.98	4.09	4.58	9.14	3.04	5.95	4.65
1926	2.04	4.49	3.39	10.60	4.50	6.90	5.50
1925	2.25	5.17	3.83	7.66	4.86	6.05	5.84
1924	2.66	4.37	4.01	8.17	6.42	6.55	6.78
1923	2.49	4.89	4.23	8.88	5.71	9.89	6.16
1922	2.44	5.18	7.08	8.71	4.78	7.31	6.88

1916	3.84	6.06	3.53	8.74	5.75	6.28	6.44

1906	4.64	10.19	5.18	9.70	7.66	12.00	7.42
1905	4.10	9.48	5.64	16.04	8.15	12.72	7.08
1904	4.27	17.00	5.51	14.35	10.37	11.78	6.32
1903	4.43	13.55	5.61	15.00	7.48	13.31	5.93
1902	4.79	5.81	4.96	13.17	8.11	8.76	7.54
1901	3.63	4.80	4.65	10.40	8.85	13.76	6.04
1900	4.05	4.23	4.92	12.33	6.20	15.06	5.72
1899	5.23	5.23	4.46	10.11	8.42	12.74	8.38
1898	4.83	5.88	6.45	7.63	9.68	16.16	8.24
1897	5.62	5.63	4.71	9.69	7.56	15.53	5.63
1896	5.33	5.09	4.86	8.46	11.93	11.55	6.92
1895	6.52	5.15	4.40	13.35	9.81	14.00	8.53
1894	6.28	5.37	5.91	11.07	14.15	15.51	7.35
1893	5.75	5.16	5.29	10.73	8.99	14.46	6.92
1892	7.10	5.20	6.94	11.74	11.28	15.25	6.53
1891	8.40	5.10	5.03	9.05	11.62	12.63	7.92
1890	8.85	4.77	6.07	11.50	10.75	16.04	7.39
1889	7.42	5.77	8.24	8.74	12.79	15.36	7.99
1888	10.45	6.80	9.12	9.37	12.08	20.44	11.21
1887	10.49	13.36	5.26	7.24	11.20	13.60	7.37
1886	12.92	17.33	5.70	11.26	20.19	17.58	9.44
1885	14.08	6.25	4.25	10.93	16.73	15.31	8.75
1884	7.56	9.20	13.71	10.26	12.43	18.13	6.30
1883	10.76	6.00	12.67	7.73	14.56	16.24	6.59
1882	11.34	8.75	5.87	12.24	17.05	18.44	5.61
1881	0.00	21.66	4.71	8.84	13.42	19.58	8.07

Attesting further to the position with reference to divorce occupied by Peoria is a comparison of the divorce rates for the year 1930 of some sixty counties. Certain difficulties in making comparisons are to be kept in mind. The sixty counties in the list besides Peoria were selected with two factors kept predominantly in mind. First, they are parts of areas which the Bureau of the Census has designated as Metropolitan Districts or contain parts of such Districts. Second, and perhaps the more important reason for choosing this particular list, is that they are all to be found operating under comparatively similar legal situations. More specifically, these cities are all to be found in states which allow divorces on from five to eleven grounds, and with very minor differences the residence requirement is the same, viz., one year before divorce proceedings may be initiated. The cities range in size from Chicago with its 1930 official census of 3,376,438 to Council Bluffs, Iowa, with only 68,828, retained in the list because it is a part of the Omaha Metropolitan District.

These comparative data are presented in Table 5. The divorce rate is given in terms of the number per thousand married population. This is possible since all the figures are available for the census enumeration year. The table also gives the total population of each county as well as the total married population. The counties are ranked according to high divorce rate. The rates vary from 14.09 divorces granted during the year for each thousand of married population in Tulsa County, Oklahoma, to only 1.11 in Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Peoria is twelfth in the list with its rate of 9.04 divorces per thousand married persons.

A study of the table reveals the unusually high divorce rate of Peoria. This city's nearest neighbors with high divorce rates are Des Moines, Iowa, and Kansas City, Missouri. Moreover, there are a number of cities in the middle west and far west whose divorce rates are lower than those of Peoria. The first northern city in the list which is east of Peoria is Columbus, Ohio. It is eighteenth in the list and has a divorce rate of 7.14 compared with Peoria's twelfth position and rate of 9.04. Of the eleven cities with rates higher than the community of special interest in this study, five are in the

state of Texas, and two are Oklahoma cities. These two states ranked fourth and second respectively in high divorce rates among the forty-eight states in 1930.¹

TABLE 5

DIVORCE RATE (NUMBER OF DIVORCES PER 1,000 MARRIED POPULATION) OF 61 COUNTIES IN 1930

City and County	Total Population	Married Population	No. of Divorces	Divorces per 1000 Married Population
TULSA				
Tulsa	187,574	88,698	1,250	14.09
DALLAS				
Dallas	325,691	152,556	2,112	13.84
OKLAHOMA CITY				
Oklahoma . . .	221,738	105,999	1,420	13.39
LITTLE ROCK				
Pulaski . . .	137,727	61,038	772	12.64
HOUSTON				
Harris	359,328	166,916	2,074	12.42
SAN ANTONIO				
Bexar	292,533	120,086	1,466	12.20
FORT WORTH				
Tarrant . . .	197,553	92,734	1,069	11.52
KANSAS CITY				
Jackson . . .	470,454	228,203	2,488	10.90
WICHITA				
Sedgewick . .	136,330	24,283	695	10.81
DES MOINES				
Polk	172,837	80,125	816	10.20
EL PASO . .				
El Paso . . .	131,597	50,531	459	9.08
PEORIA				
Peoria	141,344	63,824	577	9.04
SAN FRANCISCO				
San Francisco	634,394	272,252	2,424	8.94
DAVENPORT				
Scott	77,332	35,571	309	8.68
SEATTLE				
King	463,517	216,101	1,733	8.01
SALT LAKE CITY				
Salt Lake . .	194,102	80,254	594	7.40
SAN DIEGO				
San Diego . .	209,659	98,784	714	7.22
COLUMBUS				
Franklin . . .	361,055	169,934	1,214	7.14
SPOKANE				
Spokane . . .	150,477	68,236	487	7.13

¹See Marriage and Divorce, 1930, Table X, p. 17.

TABLE 5-Continued

City and County	Total Population	Married Population	No. of Divorces	Divorces per 1000 Married Population
PORTLAND				
Multnomah. . .	338,241	161,088	1,119	6.94
LOS ANGELES				
Los Angeles. .	2,208,492	1,052,080	7,284	6.92
COUNCIL BLUFFS				
Pottawattamie.	69,888	31,211	216	6.92
KANSAS CITY				
Wyandott. . .	141,211	65,925	454	6.88
DENVER				
The City. . .	287,861	133,569	913	6.84
ST. LOUIS				
The City. . .	821,960	377,877	2,587	6.80
TOLEDO				
Lucas.	347,709	163,769	1,090	6.65
TAKOMA				
Pierce.	163,842	74,867	489	6.53
CLEVELAND				
Cuyahoga. . . .	1,201,455	542,617	3,458	6.37
OAKLAND				
Alameda. . . .	474,883	223,625	1,336	5.97
LOUISVILLE				
Jefferson. . .	355,350	157,008	910	5.79
AKRON				
Summit.	344,131	160,811	927	5.76
SACRAMENTO				
Sacramento. . .	141,999	61,799	350	5.66
BIRMINGHAM				
Jefferson. . .	431,393	187,932	1,045	5.56
DAYTON				
Montgomery. . .	273,481	129,254	714	5.52
ASHLAND				
Boyd.	43,849	18,703	100	5.34
ROCKFORD				
Winnebago. . .	117,373	55,071	291	5.28
CHICAGO				
Cook.	3,982,123	1,777,387	9,188	5.16
OMAHA				
Douglas.	232,982	104,725	531	5.07
MINNEAPOLIS				
Hennepin. . . .	517,785	227,349	1,128	4.96
SAVANNAH				
Chatham.	105,431	44,580	210	4.71
CANTON				
Stark.	221,784	102,020	460	4.50
ERIE				
Erie.	175,277	76,664	336	4.38
ST. PAUL				
Ramsey.	286,721	122,694	532	4.33

TABLE 5-Continued

City and County	Total Population	Married Population	No. of Divorces	Divorces per 1000 Married Population
YOUNGSTOWN				
Mahoning. . .	236,142	101,373	438	4.32
ROCK ISLAND				
Rock Island .	98,191	47,170	203	4.30
ATLANTA				
Fulton. . . .	318,587	138,302	594	4.29
WHEELING				
Ohio.	72,077	30,790	132	4.28
SAN JOSE				
Santa Clara .	145,118	64,220	274	4.26
CINCINNATI				
Hamilton. . .	589,356	286,661	989	3.70
DULUTH				
St. Louis . .	204,598	80,991	263	3.24
READING				
Berks	231,717	105,596	293	2.77
SCRANTON				
Lackawanna. .	310,397	116,991	323	2.76
PITTSBURGH				
Allegheny . .	1,374,410	566,273	1,436	2.53
HARRISBURGH				
Dauphin . . .	165,231	75,316	190	2.52
BETHLEHEM				
Northampton .	169,304	73,262	174	2.37
PHILADELPHIA				
Philadelphia. .	1,950,961	831,075	1,808	2.17
ALTOONA				
Blair	139,840	60,455	103	1.70
LANCASTER				
Lancaster . .	196,882	86,076	141	1.63
WILKES-BARRE				
Luzerne . . .	445,109	165,467	225	1.35
ALLENTOWN				
Lehigh. . . .	172,893	77,536	89	1.14
JOHNSTOWN				
Cambria . . .	203,146	75,249	84	1.11

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY

The present study is one made in Peoria, Illinois, a mid-western industrial city of slightly more than a hundred thousand population, the exact figure in 1930 according to the Bureau of the Census being 104,969. It is the writer's conviction that there are some advantages to be gained by an intensive study to be made in a city of this size with its population composition and characteristics. These advantages will be brought out, implicitly, at least, by the detailed description of the city in which the study has been made.

Characteristics of Population

The preponderating majority of the citizens of the community are native-white of native parentage, the total foreign-born when the census was taken in April, 1930, being 6,861. Revealing further the type of citizenship which makes up this community is the fact that of the 6,861, 70.7 per cent migrated to the city before 1900, only 5.5 per cent of the total foreign-born coming into the community during the period 1925 to 1930. Of this foreign-born group the large majority are white, the exact number being 6,736. For the most part they originated in the northern European countries, leaving only a comparative few to make up the diverse elements of the population originating in southern European countries which compose much larger proportions of the population groups of many of the largest cities of the country. The largest single group in the community here to be studied is composed of those born in Germany, the number being 2,224, and they compose more than 40 per cent of the entire foreign-born group.

There is a much larger group than the total foreign-born which can be said to have come under European influence, the Census Bureau designation for which is "one or both parents foreign-born." Table 6 gives this information in detail and is

taken from Table 2 of Volume II on Population, a part of the fifteenth census (1930). The countries are arranged in the order of the largest number found in the city and only those making up one per cent or more of the population are given. This entire group composes 26.65 per cent of the population of the city.

TABLE 6
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN-WHITE STOCK

Country	Number	Per Cent	Foreign-Born White	Native-Born, of Foreign or Mixed Parentage
All Countries. . .	27,977*	100.0	6,736	21,241
Germany.	11,401	40.8	2,244	9,157
Irish Fr. State. .	2,923	10.4	344	2,579
England.	2,815	10.1	685	2,130
Sweden	1,537	5.5	449	1,088
France	950	3.4	201	749
Scotland	907	3.2	223	662
Canada (other than French) .	803	2.9	231	572
Italy.	781	2.8	288	493
Russia	540	1.9	214	326
Jugoslavia	499	1.8	213	286
North Ireland. . .	458	1.6	63	395
Austria.	439	1.6	160	279
Poland	376	1.3	154	222
Greece	329	1.2	198	131
Denmark.	282	1.0	96	186
Syria.	268	1.0	111	157

*26.65 per cent of total population of city.

Some of the other countries represented, but whose nationals compose less than one per cent of the population each are in the order of their numbers: Hungary, 236; Belgium, 213; Wales, 194; Norway, 180; Lithuania, 173; Czechoslovakia, 169; Netherlands, 145; and French Canada, 142.

Ogburn has pointed out that except for the Negro, the group in the population which secures divorces in larger numbers and in larger proportions than the others is the native-white of native parentage.¹ This fact makes itself apparent in the

¹E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships (New York, 1928), p. 371.

present study. Table 6 reveals that Peoria is twelfth in a list of sixty-one cities when the divorce rate is figured on the basis of the number of divorces per thousand married population, and without exception those cities having higher divorce rates have a smaller proportion of their populations either foreign-born or of foreign or mixed parentage. Moreover, there are few cities except southern ones whose divorce rates are lower than that of Peoria which do not have a larger proportion of their population coming under the category of either foreign-born or of foreign or mixed parentage. For example, Columbus is one of these cities and the proportion of the population making up the foreign group of the county in which that city is located is 18.13, whereas the same proportion in Peoria County is 26.65.

It may be noted also that there are only nine hundred and twenty-eight aliens in Peoria, 75.3 per cent of the total foreign-born having been naturalized and four hundred and eighty or 7 per cent more having taken out their first papers in the naturalization process. There are only one hundred and twenty-five persons among the foreign-born who do not belong to the white group. There are in the population of the city, 3,037 negroes, 169 Mexicans, and 28 Indians and Chinese.

A further detail concerning the population given by the Bureau of the Census¹ is with reference to the families of which there is a total of 26,494 and of these 25,816 are white, and 16,311 of these are composed of the group of native-white of native parentage. This leaves 6,580 of foreign or mixed parentage and 2,925 foreign-born families. There were at the same time 626 negro families and 52 families of other races.

Summarizing the population composition in Peoria, it is found to be a city composed largely of the group designated "native-white of native parentage." A strikingly small proportion of those of foreign extraction are of recent arrival in the city. The small number of negroes in the city make up less than 3 per cent of its population. When figures of family composition are studied the same results become apparent, viz., the comparative absence of large numbers of newly arrived immigrants from foreign countries in the community.

¹United States Census Bureau Publication, A Report on Population (Washington, 1930), VI, 354.

The Metropolitan Area

Peoria is a part of a metropolitan area, the total population of which was in 1930, 144,732. The metropolitan district consists of parts of Peoria and Tazewell counties, a few of the detailed comparative population figures being given in Table 7.

TABLE 7

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF PEORIA COMPARED WITH
THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF WHICH THE CITY IS A PART

	Males	Females	White	Negro	Native Par.	Foreign Mixed Par.	Foreign- Born Wh.
PEORIA	52,512	52,457	101,735	3,037	73,758	21,241	6,736
METROPOL- ITAN AREA	72,943	71,789	141,276	3,226	102,219	29,190	9,897

Industrial Phases

One of the important factors in the background of a study of any aspect of the social situation is the way a community makes its living. This metropolitan region is predominantly an industrial one, revealed by the fact that almost half of the males engaged in "selected" occupations are in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The number is 15,935 while the total number engaged in gainful occupations is 36,049. The male part of the population is engaged in a total of 105 occupations. Besides those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, there are 4,190 in transportation and communication pursuits, 7,298 in trade, 1,609 in professional services, 2,343 in domestic and personal service and 2,886 are concerned with clerical occupations.

There are 12,770 women engaged in twenty-eight occupations. Of this number 1,608 are in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 294 in transportation and communication, 1,859 in trade, 1,638 in the professions, 4,168 in domestic and personal service, and 3,173 in clerical pursuits.

In order to give a basis for comparison, Table 8 presents the numbers and the proportions of women fifteen years of age and over who are gainfully employed in Illinois and in the city of Chicago as given in the census reports and the table also gives the Peoria figures. Also given is the number in each of the units who are married and those who are both married and gainfully employed.

TABLE 8

NUMBER AND PROPORTION GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN
AND THOSE MARRIED AND EMPLOYED IN ILLINOIS,
CHICAGO, AND PEORIA, 1930

	Total Female Population	Gain- fully Employed	Pro- por- tion	Total Married	Gainfully Employed, Married	Per Cent Gainfully Employed & Married
Illinois	2,780,510	714,640	25.7	1,701,891	190,538	6.85
Chicago	1,262,223	406,482	32.2	746,821	109,164	8.65
Peoria	40,971	12,770	31.1	23,638	3,363	8.21

Census data are also available as to the number of children employed in gainful occupations and this information may be of some significance to us in our attempt to understand this community. The Bureau of the Census gives the figures for children in two groups, those in the age group ten to seventeen years of age and those from ten to fifteen years old. Tables 9 and 10 give these two groups respectively and for the purposes of easy comparison the figures are given not only for Peoria, but also for Chicago and the State of Illinois.

TABLE 9

CHILDREN 10 TO 17 IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

	Total Number in Age Group	Number Gainfully Employed	Per Cent
Illinois. . .	1,088,533	95,780	8.8
Chicago . . .	455,680	43,417	9.5
Peoria. . .	12,125	1,124	9.3

TABLE 10
NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10 TO 15
YEARS OF AGE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

	Total Number in Age Group	Number Gainfully Employed	Per Cent
Illinois	816,191	11,820	1.4
Chicago	340,053	3,163	0.9
Peoria	9,002	129	1.4

From the foregoing tables it will be seen that the community under inspection does not vary greatly from the expected. It employs a slightly larger proportion of its children ten to seventeen years of age than the state as a whole, but a slightly smaller proportion than its large city neighbor. When the age group is changed to the period ten to fifteen, Chicago employs a smaller proportion and Peoria employs the same proportion as the state as a whole.

Of the 1,124 children in the ten to seventeen age group gainfully employed in Peoria, there are four hundred and twenty-seven engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, eighty-one in transportation and communication, two hundred and twenty-three in trade. (In this number there are seventeen newsboys, thirty-four in professional service, one hundred and eighty-eight in domestic and personal service, and one hundred and fifty-eight in the clerical occupations.)

As compared with the 15,935 persons engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1930 as given by the Bureau of the Census, a check in the late months of 1935 revealed that there were in the immediate neighborhood of 18,000 persons engaged in these pursuits. The largest single industry from the standpoint of the number employed is the Caterpillar Tractor Company, this number in November, 1935, being 7,500 while there had been an increase to somewhat beyond 9,000 by March, 1936, and perhaps 12,000 by December, 1936. This plant is in East Peoria, Tazewell County, and all of the employees do not live in the city or county of Peoria.

The Research Division of the Federal Housing Administration in its Analysis of the Real Property Inventory and Financial Survey of Urban Housing for Peoria, Illinois in its report dated January 1, 1935, gives a picture of the industrial activity in the Peoria Metropolitan area in these words:

. . . . In the peak year of 1929, the Peoria area was manufacturing products of approximately \$180,000,000 in value. There were two hundred and sixty-eight establishments with 15,000 wage earners who received \$20,000,000 in wages.

The major products are tractors, agricultural implements, power and washing machines, commercial solvents, paper, wire and steel products, machine parts, stoves and furnaces, cereal products, malt syrups, grain and feed, and creamery products. Lately, there has been a revival of what was once an important industry in Peoria, namely the production of distilled liquors. The Walker Distilleries has just completed what is said to constitute the largest plant in the world for the production of distilled liquors.¹

The same authority points out that while Peoria is dominated by Chicago as a wholesale center there were in 1929 "326 wholesaling establishments with net sales of \$111,000,000 employing 3,100 employees and disbursing in salaries and wages over \$5,000,000."² And, to complete the picture, the same study indicates that in 1929 there were retail sales approximating \$92,000,000 with a full time employed force of 8,580 persons.³

Cultural Indices

Lichtenberger considers the increase in popular learning an important factor in the increase of the divorce rate in the United States. He says:

In a population thus intellectually equipped, all manner of obstructions which hinder freedom and progress, whether due to tyranny of men or to the domination of tradition, become increasingly obnoxious. This results, not because conditions are worse, but because with higher degrees of enlightenment they are perceived more clearly. Much of the social unrest of our time is due not to more unfavorable economic, political, and other social conditions, for these conditions, by and large, have greatly improved, but to the greater degree of knowledge enjoyed by the masses which make surviving injustice and inequality of opportunity harder to

¹Analysis of the Real Property Inventory and Financial Survey of Urban Housing for Peoria, Illinois (Washington, D. C., 1935), p. 4.

²Quoted ibid.

³Ibid., p. 5.

bear with resignation. Wrongs are felt more keenly, and as a consequence rights are demanded more persistently.¹

He believes that there is no doubt that this fact of American life has a definite bearing on our family situation. For this reason, it seems desirable here to study our community briefly as to its cultural life.

Peoria has an ordinarily adequate public school system, about which there is probably not a distinctive feature, but whose work in general is passably well done. There is a college, too, which is rather usual in a city as large as Peoria. It is a comparatively young college having been established in 1897 and is in the "small" college group. It is impossible to estimate the influence which it has wielded in the community. Approximately half of its students have been from the local area. There are numerous study clubs in the community, a well-equipped public library, night schools, a women's club with its lectures and educational program, a public forum worthy of note conducted by one of the churches; the number of churches is probably commensurate with what would be expected in a community of a hundred thousand people, luncheon clubs, etc. Book sellers have complained that the city bought too few books, but it has been suggested that the wide-spread use made by the citizenry of the public library would at least offset the apparent lack in the number of books purchased.

A bit of light is shed on this point by the most recent report made by the American Library Association. Forty-five of the cities whose divorce rates are compared in the preceding chapter of this study are reported as to the circulation of books per capita of population served. Peoria ranks twelfth from the highest city in the list. It will be remembered that its rank is twelfth also among the cities in divorce rate.² Only two cities, however, which have higher divorce rates than Peoria, have higher per capita circulation of the volumes of their libraries. These are Wichita, Kansas and Des Moines, Iowa.

¹J. P. Lichtenberger, Divorce, a Social Interpretation (New York, 1931), p. 401.

²See Table 5.

There is one index supplied by the census data, however, which may reveal something of a cultural attainment. Peoria ranks first among the regions in the country which the Bureau of the Census has designated "Metropolitan Districts" in the matter of literacy, only one half of one per cent of its population ten years of age or over being illiterate. Out of the 89,193 persons in the city in this age group, the census enumerators in 1930 counted only 440 who were illiterate. Only forty-three of these illiterate persons were in the group of native-white of native parentage which in this group is a proportion of only two-tenths of one per cent. In the foreign-born group, the proportion of illiterates was 2.8 while among the negroes it was also 2.8 per cent. For purposes of comparison, Table 11 gives a list of all of the cities listed by the Census Bureau having an illiteracy rate of less than one per cent.

Minneapolis is the largest city in this group, and in general it may be said that those cities which have a lower rate than the .5 illiteracy rate of Peoria are in small cities or in suburbs of larger cities where the population is highly selected. It may be noted that Brookline, Massachusetts with the very low rate of .2 is a city of 42,126 inhabitants.

A study of the list of cities in Table 11 reveals that in spite of the fact that there are here only a few which are not to be designated "small" cities, there are in this list of forty-two, ten of the same cities which appear in our list whose divorce rates are compared in Table 5. These ten cities have, of course, in comparison with the other cities in the divorce table, low illiteracy percentages. They have high divorce rates, ranking from Tulsa with its first place to Minneapolis which ranks thirty-eighth among the sixty-four cities. The rankings of the intermediate cities are: Oklahoma City, third; Wichita, tenth; Des Moines, eleventh; Davenport, fifteenth; Seattle, sixteenth; Salt Lake City, seventeenth; San Diego, eighteenth; and Spokane, twentieth, besides Peoria with its twelfth ranking in the list. In spite of this interesting fact, however, it is impossible to draw the conclusion that there is a cause and effect relation between literacy and a high divorce rate since there are five Texas cities as well as Birmingham, Kansas City, Missouri, San Francisco and Columbus in the list of the first

twenty cities with the highest divorce rates, and they do not appear in the list with low illiteracy rates. It would probably be difficult to establish a definite correlation, either positive or negative, between the two factors.

TABLE 11
CITIES LISTED BY THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS AS HAVING
AN ILLITERACY RATE OF LESS THAN ONE PER CENT

City	Per Cent Illiterate	City	Per Cent Illiterate
Brookline, Mass.	.2	Burlington, Iowa	.7
Norwood, Ohio	.2	Col. Springs, Col.	.7
Oak Park, Ill.	.3	Des Moines, Iowa	.7
Sioux Falls, S. D.	.3	Evanston, Ill.	.7
Ann Arbor, Mich.	.4	Glendale, Calif.	.7
Clinton, Iowa	.4	Highland Pk., Mich.	.7
Eau Claire, Wis.	.4	Lansing, Mich.	.7
Everett, Wash.	.4	Spokane, Wash.	.7
Fargo, N. Dak.	.4	Tulsa, Oklahoma	.7
University City, Mo.	.4	Wichita, Kansas	.7
Bellingham, Wash.	.5	Decatur, Ill.	.8
Cleveland Hts., Ohio	.5	Fort Wayne, Ind.	.8
Enid, Oklahoma	.5	Minneapolis, Minn.	.8
Long Beach, Calif.	.5	Oklahoma City, Okla.	.8
PEORIA, ILLINOIS	.5	Pasadena, Calif.	.8
Davenport, Iowa	.6	Seattle, Wash.	.8
Dubuque, Iowa	.6	Belleville, Ill.	.9
E. Cleveland, Ohio	.6	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	.9
Madison, Wis.	.6	Covington, Ky.	.9
Parkersburg, W. Va.	.6	Lakewood, Ohio	.9
Salt Lake City, Utah	.6	San Diego, Calif.	.9

Another cultural factor for which there are comparative data is that of church membership. There is no immediately apparent difference in the place which the churches of Peoria occupy in comparison with other communities. A study of the available figures, however, reveal some differences which may be significant. As this is written the results of the 1936 census of Religious Bodies are not available, but so far as is known there have been no important changes in the community since 1926 in the proportion of membership of the churches to the total population. Using the 1926 data as to church membership and an estimation of the population figures for the same year, Peoria, in comparison with the United States and Illinois, has a rather

strikingly smaller proportion of church membership, 37.22 for the city while 47.07 and 46.89 are the proportions for the country and state respectively. Table 12 gives figures for the three geographical areas.

TABLE 12*

PROPORTION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP TO THE TOTAL ESTIMATED
POPULATION FOR 1926 FOR THE UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS,
AND PEORIA

	Estimated 1926 Population	Church Membership	Percentage of Church Membership
United States	115,949,276	54,576,346	47.07
Illinois	7,172,504	3,363,385	46.89
Peoria	93,330	34,742	37.22

*The figures in this table are taken from the 1926 Census of Religious Bodies, publication of the Bureau of the Census. The figures are based on church memberships as given by the various denominations. Since the membership of the Roman Catholic Church includes all children of Catholic families and this is not true of other denominations, it may be doubted whether Table 12 gives a complete or accurate picture. The story which the figures tell, however, is not far from accurate since the proportion of Catholic members does not vary significantly in the three geographic divisions. The percentage of Catholics in the United States is 16.05; in Illinois, 18.06; and in Peoria 13.24. Moreover, when the Catholic membership for each geographic division is excluded from consideration, the percentage of those belonging to the other denominations figures in the table. Thus excluding Catholic memberships, the percentage for the country as a whole is 31.02, while the comparative percentages of Illinois and Peoria are 28.03 and 23.98 respectively.

The question to be asked is whether the smaller church membership in Peoria as compared with the country as a whole is a significant factor in the explanation of Peoria's comparatively high divorce rate. Some clue to the answer to this question may be secured from the negative correlation figures and between the factors of church membership and divorce when the fifty-four Census Enumeration Districts of the city are taken as a basis for comparison.¹

These figures do reveal that there is a possibility of

¹See Chapter IV, infra.

significance in the fact that the proportion of church membership in Peoria is smaller than the state in which the city is found as well as in the country as a whole.

According to the census taken in 1926, there were twenty-seven distinct denominational groups in Peoria and there were sub-divisions in several of the groups. The 34,742 church members were divided into eighty-four separate organizations, of which, comparable to the country as a whole, the Roman Catholics make up the largest number and combined have the largest membership. Table 13 gives the information in detail as to the number of churches of the various denominations and the number of members.

TABLE 13
SHOWING THE DENOMINATIONS AND THEIR DIVISIONS,
WITH THE NUMBER OF CHURCHES AND MEMBERS
OF PEORIA, ILLINOIS IN 1926

Denominations	No. Churches	Membership
Totals	84	34,742
Seventh Day Adventist.	1	134
Baptist Bodies		
Northern Baptist Convention. . .	2	891
Negro.	3	488
Brethern, Plymouth		
Plymouth Brethern IV	1	5
Church of Christ Scientist	2	559
Church of God in Christ.	1	21
Church of the Nazarene	1	50
Church of the Living God; Chris- tian Workers for Fellowship. . .	1	37
Congregational	3	1,257
Disciples of Christ.	4	2,414
Evangelical.	2	373
Evangelical Associations		
Apostolic Christian.	1	350
Missionary Church Ass'n.	1	135
Jewish Congregations	3	1,500
Latter Day Saints		
Latter-Day Saints.	1	79
Reorganized Latter-Day Saints. .	1	44
Lutherans		
United Lutheran Church in America.	1	333
Augustana Synod.	1	393
Synod of Mo. and other states. .	2	2,480
Mennonite Bodies		
Mennonite Church	1	29
Central Conference of Mennonites	1	97

TABLE 13-Continued

Denominations	No. Churches	Membership
Methodist Bodies		
M. E.	7	3,113
Free Methodist of N. America.	2	107
African	1	212
Presbyterian Church of America.	7	2,570
Protestant Episcopal.	3	1,302
Reformed Church in America. . .	1	130
Roman Catholic.	16	12,364
Salvation Army.	1	38
Swedish Evangelical Covenant		
of America.	1	41
National Spiritualist Ass'n . .	2	78
Theosophical Society.	1	24
United Brethren in Christ . . .	2	187
Universalist.	1	810
Volunteers of America	1	64

Housing in Peoria

It is possible that there is some co-ordinated relationship between housing and divorce. A spot map (Chart 2, p. 40) of the city constructed to show the addresses of those seeking divorce over a period of four years reveals some tendencies toward concentration and these areas whence come a majority of the divorces are the same ones that have been found by the Federal Housing Administration as having dwelling units which "need repair," have no "central heating facilities," have no "private indoor toilet facilities," have no "bathing facilities," and in the regions where the rents are the lowest and the value of the property least.¹ These areas are located by means of a very recent study carried on by the research division of the Federal Housing Administration and published under the title, Analysis of the Real Property Inventory and Financial Survey of Urban Housing for Peoria, Illinois, and is dated January 1, 1935. It is important in this connection to point out that the study was made in Peoria exclusively as the Administration says in the introductory statement because the city is "subject to no unique

¹See *infra*, Chapter V, especially correlations dealing with economic factors and divorce rates.

influences sufficient to make it unrepresentative, of sufficient size to be subject to many of the problems associated with large metropolitan areas, and yet not far removed from the small city state."¹ As was said before, this study was made exclusively in Peoria and its environs so that a comparison with other cities is impossible. And yet the statement is made that "there is a surprising lack of adequate equipment in the dwelling units of Peoria, for 22 per cent of the families have no private indoor toilet facilities and 32 per cent, no bath tubs or showers; 23 per cent are dependent on heating stoves, having no central heating facilities."²

Ogburn and Cahen have studied the relationship between poverty and divorce with practically negative results. Cahen's summary statement after reviewing the studies of both is: "All the foregoing facts and correlations fail to indicate a positive association between divorce and poverty."³

The findings of the present study are in conformity with Cahen's conclusion when divorce rates and poverty in various communities are compared. Appendix VI is a statistical table, the data for which were derived from a Real Property Inventory, made in 1934 of sixty-four cities by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce of the Federal Government. The figures given in Appendix VI are for eighteen selected cities whose divorce rates are rather easily comparable with those of Peoria. The percentages are of aspects of housing which are caused by the existence of poverty. In order to test the relationship between poverty and divorce, the percentages as given in the table of undesirable aspects of housing were added and the cities ranked. By correlating this ranking with a ranking of the same cities based upon divorce rates there results a correlation coefficient of .30 with a probable error of .15. This correlation, not large enough to be significant, would tend

¹Analysis of Real Property Inventory and Financial Survey of Urban Housing for Peoria, Illinois, p. v.

²Quoted ibid.

³Alfred Cahen, Statistical Analysis of American Divorce (New York, 1932), pp. 54, 55.

to verify the findings of Ogburn and Cahen.¹

When, however, these same factors are studied in relationship with each other within the same community the results are quite definite. Discussion of details of the correlations found between certain economic factors and divorce in Peoria, however, will be reserved for Chapter IV.

Summary

The community in which the present inquiry is centered has been studied in four aspects of its life, the analysis of which it is hoped will make clearer than would otherwise be possible the setting in which we are attempting to understand the phenomenon of divorce. The four aspects of the community analyzed in this chapter are: the population composition, the industrial life of the community, some cultural indices, and the question of housing. Various phases of these aspects of community life are studied in their relation to the divorce situation in detail in Chapter IV.

¹Another factor which may cause this correlation to be of doubtful value is the fact that the eighteen cities are to be found in different states with varying divorce laws, though in such an important matter as the length of residence required before a divorce is granted the states in which the cities are found are uniform.

CHAPTER III

ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES IN PEORIA

Peoria belongs to a group of cities of the country designated as "river towns." This fact gives the community its topographical setting. There is a strip of low, gently sloping land along the river, widening from a few blocks at the northeast end of the city to a mile or more at the southwest. The downtown area is not far from the middle of this seven mile distance, and back from this central region extending toward the bluffs and along the streets which run parallel to the river are to be found the residential areas. A half century ago almost all the city rested comfortably within the region bounded by the river and the bluff. Now, however, the principal residential areas are all on the bluffs, leaving areas of transition where the former residential neighborhoods were.

Peoria may be divided into three types of sub-divisions. The first of these is the division into the valley and bluff districts; second into wards, at the present time there being ten; and third, into census enumeration districts, fifty-four of which are employed in the present study.

Bluff and Valley Divisions

The division of the City into bluff and valley areas can best be discussed in connection with the wards and enumeration districts, since there are no figures available for the two-fold divisions, except as the smaller units are employed in combination to calculate the data. This has been done in order to secure the valley and the bluff divorce rates. By far the larger number of Census Enumeration Districts lie entirely within either the bluff or the valley region. Four of the districts lie partially in the valley and partially on the bluff. By means of the 1930 City Directory a careful count of the population of these four districts was made. By this means a proportion of the population of each of the districts was assigned to a valley

region and the remainder to the bluff. From the census data the proportion of the population of the City in the age group 21 to 44 is easily calculated, the percentage being 42.58. This latter figure was employed in the calculation of the proportions of the total population in bluff and valley sections of each of the four districts. The number of divorces in these districts lying in the bluff or valley sections respectively was determined by each individual address. The percentage of divorces to population 21 to 44 was then calculated. This procedure made possible the calculation of a divorce rate for the valley and bluff sections of the entire City; the former being 3.01 while the corresponding rate for the bluff region was 2.07. Table 14 shows these figures in detail.

TABLE 14

TOTAL POPULATION, POPULATION 21 TO 44, NUMBER OF DIVORCES
AND DIVORCE RATES FOR BLUFF AND VALLEY REGIONS

	Total Population	Population 21 to 44	No. of Divorces	Divorce Rate
Bluff	40,102	17,125	354	2.07
Valley	63,226	26,894	809	3.01
Totals	103,328	44,019	1,163	2.46

Ward Divorce Rates

A study of the ten wards of the City reveals that they may be classified as to their location on the bluff or in the valley. Six of the wards, the first, third, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth are valley wards, while the second, fourth and fifth wards are bluff regions except for one comparatively small corner of the fourth ward which extends below the bluff. The tenth ward is definitely a mixed district, having within its confines a residential area that extends to the river, forming a slum-like region, while also within its borders is Grand View Drive, one of the exclusive residential streets of the entire area. It winds along the brow of the bluff high above the river, affording the choicest of scenery. It is because of these geographic conditions that this ward counts among its residents those marked by the greatest contrast of wealth and poverty.

The population of the ten wards ranges from the 6,643 persons who lived in the tenth ward in 1930 when the census was taken, to the fifth ward with its population of 15,144. Census data are very meager for any of the subdivisions of the city. In order to study the problem of divorce in the areas of the city, a spot map showing the place of residence of all those who could be located by means of the City Directory whose divorces had been granted during a period of forty-eight months extending from March, 1930, to the same month of 1934 was made. The number of spots appearing in each ward were then employed to secure a divorce rate on the basis of the number of divorces in proportion to the population in the age group 21 to 44.

The mean rate of the three bluff wards is 2.13 while that of the six valley wards is 2.98. Moreover, it may be noted that the rate in the tenth ward which lies partly on the bluff and partly in the valley is 2.49. Table 15 gives the detailed figures.

TABLE 15
POPULATION, NUMBER OF DIVORCES, AND DIVORCE RATE
FOR EACH OF THE TEN PEORIA WARDS, 1930

Ward Number	Total Population	No. Divorces Granted, 48 Months' Period, Beginning March, 1930	Population 21 to 44	Per Cent Divorces Population 21 to 44
1	8,342	80	3,415	2.34
2	10,325	107	4,305	2.49
3	13,881	213	6,727	3.17
4	12,193	126	5,261	2.39
5	15,144	98	6,550	1.50
6	10,741	120	4,152	2.89
7	8,711	170	4,116	4.13
8	9,790	102	3,664	2.78
9	9,199	81	3,191	2.54
10	6,643	68	2,727	2.49

Because of the meagerness of census data for the wards of the city, any attempt at the correlation of factors is fraught with some difficulty. In the process of the study some correlations were calculated, but because only the most tentative

conclusions could be drawn from them, they are omitted from the text. In spite of the lack of data, the high divorce rate in the seventh ward may be commented upon briefly. Mention has been made of the areas of transition. The greater part of this ward is definitely one of those areas. It has in it many large houses and apparently was once a choice residential region. Now, however, the houses have been made into apartments and their upkeep has been neglected, exterior evidence of which is the need of repairs and paint. Verification of the impression from which this statement is made is found in the Analysis of Housing in Peoria made by the Federal Housing Administration.¹

Census Enumeration Districts

Peoria has not been recognized by the Bureau of the Census as a census tract city. The Bureau, however, does divide the city for the sake of convenience into some sixty districts. Photostatic copies available from the Bureau of the Census reveal only the total population of the districts. However, by means of much appreciated co-operation of Dr. Calvert L. Dedrick, assistant chief statistician of the Division of Statistical Research of the Bureau of the Census and Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, chief statistician for Population, the writer was able to secure additional information for each of the Census Districts. A part of this information is given in Appendices VII to XI inclusive, and the various factors are correlated with the divorce rate. A report of these correlations is given in Chapter IV. Other factors, such as birth-rate, were computed for each area from data supplied by the Department of Health of the City. The map with the district boundaries and the divorces presented during the period studied and assigned to each of the districts is shown as Chart 2. Table 16 gives such basic data as the total population of each district, the number of divorces located in the district during the forty-eight months, and the proportion of divorces granted in relation to the population in the age group 21 to 44.²

¹See especially Map G in that volume. Further evidences of undesirable housing conditions existent in Ward 7 are to be found in Maps H, I, J, K, M, N, and T of the same study.

²It is regrettable that there are no data available by either the wards or census areas as to marital condition.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1163 PEORIA
DIVORCES, 1930-1934, WITH
CENSUS ENUMERATION DISTRICTS.

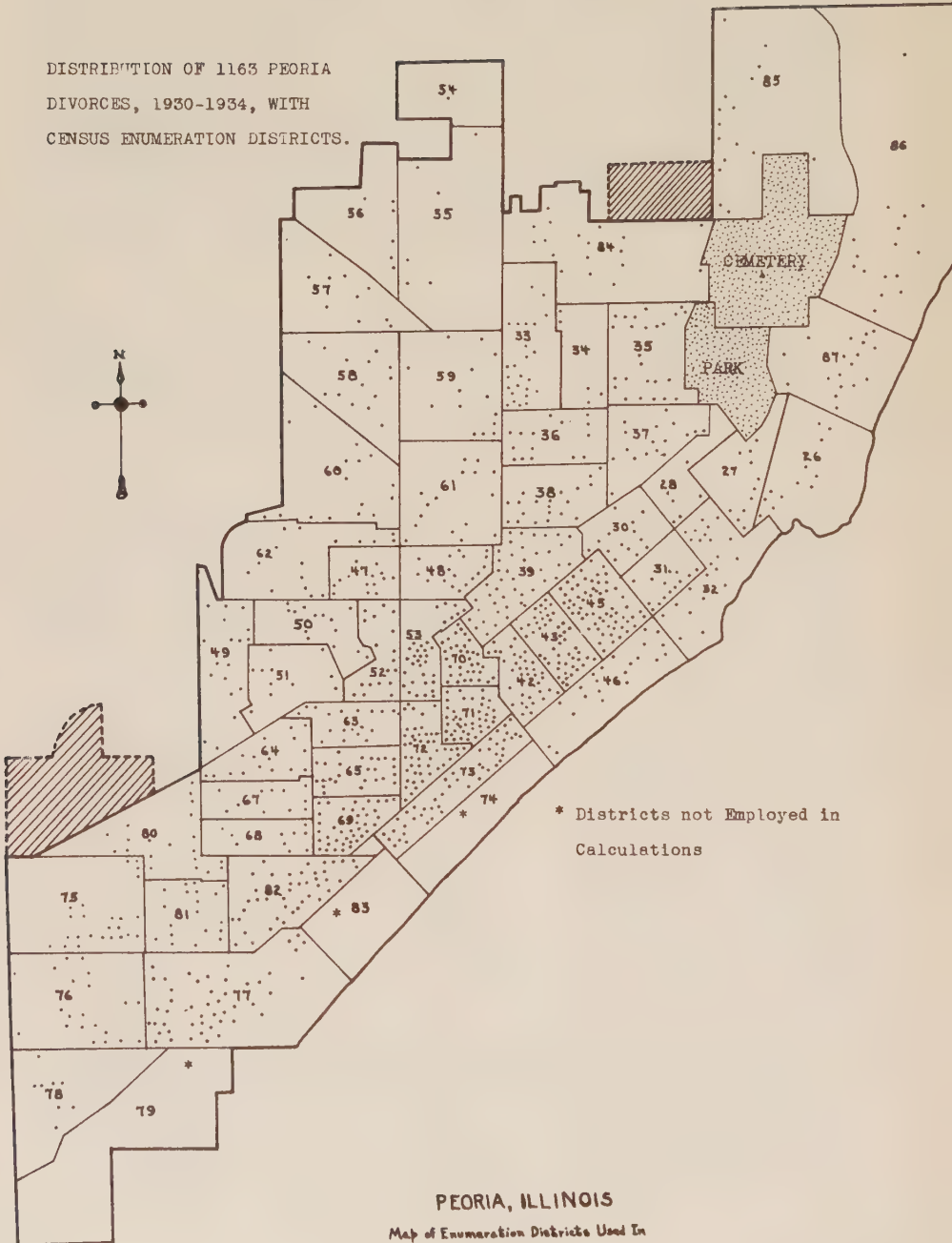


TABLE 16

POPULATION, DIVORCES ASSIGNED TO, AND DIVORCE RATE FOR
EACH OF THE 54 CENSUS ENUMERATION DISTRICTS, 1930

Census Enumeration Districts	Total Population	Population 21 to 44	Divorces	Per Cent Divorces Population 21 to 44
26	1,477	542	12	2.21
27	1,227	487	11	2.25
28	859	422	6	1.42
30	1,358	657	14	2.13
31	1,518	661	14	2.11
32	1,696	646	23	3.56
33	2,149	881	25	2.84
34	1,122	512	5	0.98
35	1,878	803	25	3.11
36	1,813	721	15	2.08
37	1,453	612	17	2.78
38	1,910	776	20	2.58
39	3,114	1,408	44	3.12
42	1,315	749	36	4.81
43	2,324	1,260	49	3.89
45	3,355	1,584	62	3.91
46	3,530	1,726	22	3.59
47	1,160	490	14	2.86
48	1,681	815	17	2.08
49	2,244	808	18	2.23
50	2,278	1,119	14	1.25
51	1,390	507	11	2.17
52	1,466	617	18	2.92
53	1,974	905	34	3.76
54	106	46	1	2.17
55	1,674	728	6	0.82
56	646	432	6	1.39
57	1,651	808	10	1.24
58	2,050	889	14	1.57
59	1,728	710	14	1.97
60	1,311	483	16	3.31
61	3,094	1,282	15	1.17
62	2,884	1,172	16	1.36
63	1,774	747	18	2.41
64	1,470	593	16	2.69
65	2,093	794	25	3.15
67	1,545	592	11	1.86

TABLE 16-Continued

Census Enumeration Districts	Total Population	Population 21 to 44	Divorces	Per Cent Divorces Population 21 to 44
68	1,692	653	10	1.53
69	2,041	773	40	5.17
70	2,038	995	34	3.42
71	2,063	1,111	42	3.78
72	2,605	1,097	47	4.29
73	1,890	713	47	5.15
75	1,675	621	24	3.86
76	2,047	787	20	2.54
77	4,229	1,541	48	3.11
78	1,736	715	8	1.12
80	1,820	730	20	2.74
81	2,185	840	19	2.26
82	4,384	1,621	42	2.59
84	2,112	939	18	1.92
85	1,436	581	16	2.75
86	1,324	514	16	3.11
87	1,771	693	18	2.60

The number of divorces for the period ranges from sixty-two in the forty-fifth District to one divorce in area number fifty-four. This latter district is one which at the time the census was taken was a new residential sub-division called The Knolls with a population of only a few more than a hundred persons. The ecologically significant facts with reference to divorce in Peoria are: first, the tendency toward concentration in certain parts of the City and, second, not only is the number of divorces larger in these areas of concentration, but the divorce rate is also higher in these same areas. This rate varies from a low of .82 for District number 55 to a high of 5.17 for District number 69.

Summary

Thus, there are three types of division into which the City may be parcelled. The division into bluff and valley sections reveals that the divorce rate is higher in the valley

areas. The division into wards reveals a like variation, the range in rates being from a low of 1.50 for the fifth, which is a bluff ward, to 4.13 in the seventh which lies in the valley and contains a large proportion of the area of the City which is in transition from a residential area to an industrial or retail section.

The division of the City into Census Enumeration Districts reveals in greater detail the concentration of divorces in parts of the community and their relative scarcity in others. The divorce rate of 5.17 in District number 69 is more than six times the rate in District number 55.

CHAPTER IV

DIVORCE IN RELATION TO OTHER FACTORS

The ecological study of divorce in Peoria was made by means of three types of sub-divisions, viz., the two-fold division into bluff and valley sections, the division into wards, and the division into Census Enumeration districts.

The use of the ten wards of the City lend themselves to a limited statistical study only, first because there are a small number of facts known or ascertainable with the wards as units; and second, because as sub-divisions they are too large to render the comparisons particularly significant. The larger portion of this chapter, therefore, will be taken up with a study of the Enumeration Districts.

The Enumeration Districts

Though not published in the reports of the Bureau of the Census, information does exist, for the Census districts of the City. The available information includes reports on the total population, numbers in the various age groups, number of negroes and other colored, and the number in each district of foreign birth of foreign parentage. Information as to the average value of the property as well as the average rent paid in each of the districts, income for the years 1929, 1932, and 1933 and the percentage of home ownership, is available from the Real Property Inventory.¹ From published data and from sources available from several of the offices of county and city officials some thirty factors are known for each of the Enumeration Districts, though several of these are different ways of calculating the same factor. This procedure has value for checking

¹Research Division Federal Housing Administration, Analysis of the Real Property Inventory and Financial Survey of Urban Housing for Peoria, Illinois (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935).

purposes. Several of the factors may be considered divisions of the same factor since several of them are the age groupings and their combinations.

The calculation of a divorce rate for each of the districts is, for the present study, of most significance. A record of those who were granted divorces covering a four year period, March, 1930, to March, 1934, was secured from the office of the clerk of the Circuit Court. Because the addresses were not given in the court records these were sought by means of the City Directory. Addresses of 1,163 of those securing divorces during the period were determined as existing within the city limits. These were then spotted on a map and the divorce rate was calculated for each of the Census Enumeration Districts from the figures for the population in the age group twenty-one to forty-four.¹

The calculation of a delinquency rate was accomplished on a similar basis the records of the county probation office being employed as source material. The source of information concerning relief cases was the office of the Council of Social Agencies.

What will be called inaccurately in this study the "Protestant Church Membership Rate" is from data including only a part of the protestant denominations. Many of the smaller denominations were not included in the survey and the Lutheran membership rate is kept separate from the others. This rate was calculated from information contained in a survey of certain of the protestant denominations done under the direction of Dr. S. C. Kincheloe of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Addresses of the membership were spotted on maps for the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, Christian, and Episcopal denominations. The minister of each of the Lutheran Churches of the city co-operated in providing the information from which was calculated the Lutheran membership rate. Finally, a complete list of the addresses of the heads of Catholic families was supplied by the local Diocesan office and from this the

¹The female population in this age group would have been used had the figures been available.

Catholic membership rate was derived.¹ By means of the various known factors as they manifest themselves in the sub-divisions of the city, a rather detailed comparative study of the community is possible.

The first fact to be noted is that there is a wide variance in the divorce rates of the different districts. This is to be expected from the findings of the variant rates of the bluff section of the city as opposed to that part which lies in the valley and it is in conformity, also, with the variations in the rates of the ten wards.

The basic facts as contained in Table 16 should be kept in mind as well as the distribution of divorce in the Districts as shown in Chart 2.

The next section contains an explanation of the derivation of each factor studied.

Factors Studied

A. Divorce.--The number of divorces for which addresses within the city could be found were secured for a forty-eight month period beginning March, 1930. There were 1163 of these divorces falling in the fifty-four Census Enumeration Districts, which were employed as a basis for comparison. The divorce rate employed for all purposes except correlations with the age groups was calculated by dividing the number of divorces falling within each district by the population, age 21-44. For comparison with the age groups the rate was calculated by dividing the number of divorces by the total population.

B. Delinquency.--Four hundred eighty-nine cases, covering a two-year period appearing before the Juvenile Probation officers of Peoria County, addresses of whom were found within the city, became the basic data in the calculation of this factor. It will be noted that all of these were not cases of those legally declared delinquent. The delinquent rate was calculated on the basis of the number of cases falling in each district divided by the population in the age group 5-20.

¹See acknowledgment in preface.

C. Relief.--Data for this figure were furnished by the Council of Social Agencies and comprised the number of cases of families which were furnished relief by a social agency during the six month period, beginning October 1, 1936. The relief rate for each district was calculated by means of dividing the number of cases falling in each of the fifty-four districts by the total population figure of each district.

D. Lutheran Church Membership.--Through the co-operation of the pastors of nine Lutheran churches the addresses of the families belonging to each church, along with the number in each family were secured. In order to calculate the rate the number of Lutherans in each Census district was divided by the total population.

E. Protestant Church Membership.--This rate consists of the members of the following denominations: Methodist Episcopal, Disciples, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist and Congregational. The number in each district was divided by the total population figure.

F. Catholic Church Membership.--Through information supplied by the Diocesan office of the Catholic Church, addresses of the heads of Catholic families were secured. On the suggestion of the officials of that church, this number was multiplied by four in order to determine the number of Catholics in each district. This number was then divided by the total population figure to determine the rate.

Z. Total Church Membership Rate.--Total church membership rate is based upon the addition of the number in each of the three groups, "D", "E", and "F", and divided by the total population of each district.

G. Native-White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage.--Data supplied by the Bureau of the Census, though not published in the regular reports, gives the number in each of the Census districts. This number was divided by the total population figure to secure the percentage.

H. Foreign-Born.--Source of information and method of calculating was the same as for "G".

I. Average Rent.--Information concerning average rent paid in

each of the districts for the years 1929, 1932, and 1933 is given in the volume published by the Federal Housing Administration, under date of January 1, 1935, called "Analysis of Housing in Peoria." The mean of the three figures was employed.

J. Average Value.--The same volume gives information concerning the average value of owner occupied residence buildings for the years 1930, 1933, and 1934. To secure the average value figure for this study the mean of the three years given was employed.

K. Birth Rate.--From the offices of the Peoria Health Department the number and addresses of each of the babies born during a twenty-five month period, March, 1930, through March, 1932, were secured. The number of the births falling in each district per hundred population was employed.

L. Birth Rate.--The number of babies born during the same period as explained in "K", divided by the population in the age group 15-44.

M. Birth Rate.--Here were employed figures furnished by the Bureau of the Census. This rate was derived by dividing the number of children under five in each of the districts by the number in the age group 15-44.

Y. Birth Rate.--This rate was secured by means of figures supplied by the Bureau of the Census, the number of children under five being divided by the total female population.

By means of information supplied by the Bureau of the Census, a number of age groups are employed and rates calculated. In each case the rate is based upon the proportion of the total population in each age group. The following are the age groups employed:

- N. Percentage of Population 15-20
- O. Percentage of Population 21-24
- P. Percentage of Population 25-34
- Q. Percentage of Population 35-44
- R. Percentage of Population 45-64
- S. Percentage of Population 65 and over.
- T. Percentage of Population 15-44

U. Percentage of Population 15-24

V. Percentage of Population 21-44

W. Percentage of Population 25-44

X. Percentage of Population 5-20

Z'. Average Annual Income.--The volume, "Analysis of Housing in Peoria," Table 180, contains information concerning the income of "owner-occupied and tenant" in the years 1929, 1932, and 1933. The mean of these three figures is employed.

X'. Percentage of Home Ownership.--In the same volume, as cited in "Z'", Table number 197 contains information concerning the percentage of home ownership for each of the districts.

W'. Percentage of Male Population.--Figures supplied by the Bureau of the Census make possible a calculation required for this rate.

A study of each of these factors in its relationship with divorce form the next divisions of this chapter.

Delinquency

The relationship between divorce and delinquency is a very definite one. This conclusion seems to be in harmony with most of the studies which have been made on the subject. Healy and Bronner, for example, found that only 7.6 per cent of two thousand Boston and Chicago cases of "young repeated offenders" were living in what they called "reasonably good conditions for the upbringing of a child."¹ More specifically these writers believe that the delinquents they were studying in a larger proportion than was true of the general population, came from "broken homes"; that is, homes in which one or both parents were dead or because of divorce or desertion were not living in the home.² Differing from this conclusion and from some other studies of the subject, Shaw and McKay, studying the rate of delin-

¹William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking (New York, 1926), p. 129.

²Ibid., p. 122.

quency and its relationship with "broken homes"¹ in certain areas of Chicago, found a correlation of only .19 between the factors,² though their discussion in general seems to imply a relationship, perhaps in keeping with the small correlation, between behavior problems in juveniles and family tensions.³

The present study is not one of broken homes in general, but limits itself to divorce. Differences in the findings may be due partially at least to the different type of study. Employing as a basis the fifty-four Census Enumeration districts in Peoria, there is found to be a positive correlation of .69 between divorce and juvenile delinquency. This is the highest correlation figure found between divorce and any of the factors studied. The zero order correlations of divorce with each of the other thirty factors are given in the following table.⁴

TABLE 17

CORRELATION FIGURES BETWEEN DIVORCE AND OTHER KNOWN
FACTORS IN FIFTY-FOUR CENSUS ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

Factor Correlated with Divorce	Correlation Figure
Delinquency.....	.69
Relief Cases.....	.61
Lutheran Church Membership.....	-.29
Protestant Church Membership.....	-.43
Catholic Church Membership.....	-.24
Total Church Membership Rate.....	-.46
Native-White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage.....	-.11
Foreign-Born in Population.....	.30
Average Rent.....	-.29
Average Value.....	-.24

¹Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency, for the National Commission on Law Observation and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime (Washington, 1931) No. 13, Vol. II, p. 266. See also their summary of the findings of other studies, 261 ff. Their definition of broken homes is one from which one or both parents are removed "by death, divorce, desertion, separation, or prolonged absences due to confinement in an institution."

²Ibid., p. 266.

³See the whole of Chapter X of their study.

⁴For complete definition of each factor, see pp. 60 ff.

TABLE 17--Continued

Factor Correlated with Divorce	Correlation Figure
Births Per 1,000 Population	-.10
Births--Population 15-44.	-.02
Proportion Children under 5 to Population 15-44.	-.18
Proportion Children under 5 to Total Female Population	-.15
Average Annual Income	-.32
Percentage Home Ownership	-.53
Percentage Male Population.	.35

The Age Factor

Figures not published in the regular reports, but available from the Bureau of the Census, make possible a detailed study of the age factor in its relation to divorce. In order to do this a divorce rate was calculated, based upon the total population. That is, the number of divorces occurring in each of the districts was divided by the total population of the district in order to determine its divorce rate. This series of rates was then employed for correlation purposes with the proportion of those in the various age groups in the districts.

The resulting figures reveal no significant relationship between divorce and the age factor, the highest positive relationship discovered being between the age group forty-five to sixty-four, the figure being .28. The highest negative correlation was that between divorce and the age group where it would be expected, five to twenty, the figure being -.24. All other figures resulting from age groupings are even smaller.

For purposes of correlation with all other factors except age, a divorce rate based upon the number of divorces, in each of the districts, in proportion to the number in the population in the age group from twenty-one to forty-four was used.

Foreign Groups

Peoria does not have a large proportion of foreign-born

or of native-born of foreign parentage in its population. The foreign-born seem to live in the same sections where the divorce rates are high, the correlation between the two factors in the fifty-four districts being .30. The correlation between divorce and the native-white of foreign parentage, however, is a negative, -.11. This is contrary to what might be expected. Since European countries, from which come most of those making up these groups, have low divorce rates it seems reasonable that the foreign group would have a low divorce rate after transferring to this soil. Moreover, it may be that those born in this country of foreign parents would tend more toward the high divorce rates prevalent here than would their parents. The figures here presented, while revealing a contrary tendency, would not prove these suppositions to be incorrect. It is possible that within a given community the foreign-born settle in those areas where the divorce rate is highest. Their children, on the other hand, probably, particularly if they have been economically successful, are more inclined to live in those sections where divorces are not so frequent.

The evidence seems to reveal that the factor of the foreign element in the population is not an important one in its relationship to divorce. When, for example, the factor of church membership is held constant the -.11 correlation between divorce and the native-white of foreign or mixed parentage is changed to a positive .10, while the correlation of .30 between divorce and the proportion of foreign born is changed only slightly to .32.

Proportion of Male Population

The proportion of men in the total population varied in the city in 1930 from 40.0 per cent in district number 48 to 65.1 per cent in district number 73. The latter is the retail business area, a number of those counted by the census takers being hotel residents. There is a positive correlation between this factor and divorce of .35.

Birth Rate

It is generally believed that children are a deterrent to divorce, though this point is difficult to establish. In the country as a whole 37.8 per cent of the divorces granted in 1930 were granted to those with children. In the same year the Bureau

of the Census reports 41.2 per cent of the number of families have one or more children under ten years of age and 61.2 have a child or children under twenty-one.

The data available for Peoria leaves the answer to the question doubtful. Data for the city make it possible to calculate what may be designated a birth rate in several different ways. Census figures give the number of children under five. One of the birth indices employed, therefore, is the proportion in the age group under five to the population fifteen to forty-four. Another figure employed is the number of children under five to the total female population. Two other birth rate figures were calculated using as a basis the actual number of babies born, addresses of which were found to be inside the city covering a two year period. These were compared with the total population and the population in the age group fifteen to forty-four. In the order mentioned, each of these rates was correlated with divorce with the following respective results: $-.18$, $-.15$, $-.10$, and $-.02$. While all the correlations are negative, they are not large enough to be conclusive.

Church Membership

Through the co-operation of the pastors of the Catholic and Lutheran churches of the City and data supplied by them, it was possible to calculate a membership rate for each of these denominations. By use of data resulting from a survey made in the city under the direction of Dr. S. C. Kincheloe, maps were spotted with addresses of members of the larger protestant denominations. From these was calculated what might be termed a "protestant church membership rate." When these rates were correlated with divorce, the results were all found to be negative, the correlation figure between divorce and the Catholic membership rate being $-.24$, the corresponding figure for the Lutherans being $-.29$, and for the protestant groups, $-.43$. It may be suggested here that the differences in the correlation figures between the denominations are probably not significant. While the relationship between divorce and certain economic factors is still to be discussed, it may be stated here that the differences in the correlations with divorce are probably due to the differences in economic status of the districts in which the memberships are to be found. More specifically, the protestant

membership rate, calculated as it was only from some of the larger denominations, is low in those districts where there is a low property valuation and low income. Evidence of this fact is to be found in the correlation figures of .59 and .68 between protestant church membership rates and average value of property and average annual income respectively. When these factors are correlated with Catholic membership, on the other hand, the resulting figures are .09 and -.05, and for the Lutheran membership the corresponding figures are -.29 and -.18.

Economic Factors

Five different rates calculated from data, all of which may be considered economic in character, may be discussed under the one general heading. These are (1) the relief rate; (2) the average rent paid; (3) the average value of owner-occupied dwellings; (4) the average annual income, and (5) the percentage of home ownership. All of these factors have a negative correlation with divorce except the first, relief, and this factor has the highest correlation with divorce, either negative or positive, excepting only delinquency. The correlation figure is .61. This may be a surprising result since it is known that a divorce is an item of expense and also since it is known that during the depression there was a decrease in the number of divorces granted which was roughly comparable with the decrease in the number of marriages in both Peoria and in the county as a whole. Though authentic figures for desertion are unobtainable in Peoria it might be guessed that if there were such figures they would also show a positive correlation with relief. Perhaps this correlation would be larger than is the one between relief and divorce. In view of the fact, however, that facts about desertion are unknown it may be the more surprising that the correlation between relief and divorce is so large.

Moreover, by holding the various factors constant, there is revealed a persistently high correlation between divorce and relief when delinquency is held constant is .19. When other factors are held constant the correlation figure is generally .4 or .5, the relationship being as high as .8 when the average value of property is held constant.

The relationship between divorce and each of the other economic factors is a negative one, the highest figure be-

ing between divorce and home ownership, $-.50$. Where the proportion of home ownership is lowest, there the divorce factor is present in an inverse relationship.

Inter-Relatedness of Factors

In the foregoing analysis of the various factors and their relationship to divorce, several of the known facts or groups of facts are shown to bear a more important relationship to divorce than to the others. First and most important in its relationship is delinquency. Then in apparent order of importance is the group of economic factors, and finally, the matter of church membership seems to be of sufficient importance to warrant an attempt at further analysis. By means of the technique of partial correlations this further study seeks to answer the question of the inter-relationship of these factors.

The relationship between divorce and delinquency seems the more significant when correlations of the first order are considered. That is, the very high correlation between divorce and juvenile delinquency is maintained when each of the other factors is held constant. When the factor of relief is held constant, the correlation between delinquency and divorce is reduced to $.41$, but this is the lowest correlation figure in the series and there is a variation from this figure to $.69$. The cause and effect relationship between these two factors in this particular community seems, therefore, to be quite definitely established. The entire series of correlations between divorce and delinquency when each of the other factors is in turn held constant is shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18

CORRELATION FIGURES OF DIVORCE (A) AND DELINQUENCY (B)
WITH EACH OF THE OTHER FACTORS HELD CONSTANT

AB.C (Relief).....	.41
AB.D (Lutherans).....	.66
AB.E (Protestant).....	.60
AB.F (Catholic).....	.69
AB.G (Native-White of Foreign..... or Mixed Parentage)....	.69
AB.H (Foreign-Born).....	.65
AB.I (Average Rent).....	.66
AB.J (Average Value).....	.67

TABLE 18-Continued

AB.K (Births per 1000).....	.69
AB.L (Births 15-44).....	.69
AB.M (No. Children under 5).....	.69
AB.Y (Birth Rate).....	.69
AB.Z (Total Church Members).....	.61
AB.Z' (Average Income).....	.65
AB.X' (Home Ownership).....	.55
AB.W' (Per Cent Male Population).....	.64

In approximately half of the partial correlation figures given in the foregoing table the correlation figure of the zero order is maintained or increased. Each of the five economic factors decreases the figure from the slight amount of factor I, average rent, to .41 when the factor of relief is held constant.

The economic factor which has the highest correlation with divorce is relief, the coefficient being .61. Because of this apparent important relationship, a set of partial correlations holding the other factors constant is given in Table 19.

TABLE 19

CORRELATION FIGURES OF DIVORCE (A) AND RELIEF (C)
WITH EACH OF THE OTHER FACTORS HELD CONSTANT

AC.B (Delinquency).....	.06
AC.D (Lutheran).....	.57
AC.E (Protestant).....	.48
AC.F (Catholic).....	.59
AC.G (Native-White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage).....	.61
AC.H (Foreign-Born).....	.56
AC.I (Average Rent).....	.56
AC.J (Average Value).....	.58
AC.K (Births per 1000).....	.61
AC.L (Births 15-44).....	.61
AC.M (No. Children under 5).....	.59
AC.Y (Birth Rate).....	.61
AC.Z (Total Church Members).....	.51

It will be noted that the zero correlation of .61 is maintained or increased in four of the cases. Of special

significance, however, is the fact that when delinquency is held constant this original correlation figure is reduced to .06.¹

The following table reveals that the economic factors have a more important relationship with delinquency than divorce.

TABLE 20

COMPARATIVE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DIVORCE AND FIVE ECONOMIC FACTORS AND BETWEEN DELINQUENCY AND THE SAME FACTORS

Economic Factor Correlated with	(a) Divorce	(b) Delinquency
C Relief	.61	.82
I Average Rent	-.29	-.67
J Average Property Value	-.22	-.48
X' Per Cent of Home Ownership	-.50	-.71
Z' Average Annual Income	-.32	-.61

Whether it is the positive relationship with delinquency of the relief rate or the negative relationship of the other four factors, the figure is larger in every case than when divorce is the correlative factor.

The following table shows the relationship between these factors when divorce is held constant.

TABLE 21

CORRELATION BETWEEN DELINQUENCY (B) AND EACH OF FIVE ECONOMIC FACTORS WHEN DIVORCE (A) IS HELD CONSTANT

BC (Relief).A	.71
BI (Average Rent).A	-.66
BJ (Average Value).A	-.45
BX' (Home Ownership).A	-.59
BZ' (Average Income).A	-.56

It will be noted that by holding divorce constant each of the correlation figures shows a reduction from the zero cor-

¹Attesting further to the important inter-relation of the factors of relief, delinquency, and divorce is the result of calculating the multiple correlation, the result being $R = .70$

relation figure of the factors with delinquency but not enough to interfere with the conclusion that there is a definite relationship.

When, however, delinquency is held constant, the relationship between divorce and the economic factors does not stand out clearly. The correlation between divorce and relief remains positive but is reduced to .19. The correlation between divorce and the proportion of home ownership remains negative, but the figure is reduced to -.08. In all the others, divorce on the one hand and average rent, average of property value, and average annual income, on the other, the negative zero correlation is changed to positive figures of .24, .13, and .12 respectively. Table 22 summarizes the matter.

TABLE 22

CORRELATION BETWEEN DIVORCE (A) AND EACH OF FIVE ECONOMIC FACTORS WHEN DELINQUENCY (B) IS HELD CONSTANT

AC (Relief).B.....	-.19
AI (Average Rent).B.....	.24
AJ (Average Value).B.....	.13
AX' (Home Ownership).B.....	-.08
AZ' (Average Income).B.....	.12

The inevitable conclusion is that there is a much more definite relationship between delinquency and the economic factors than between these latter and divorce. The zero correlation figures for the latter factors are so high, however, as to make it impossible to dismiss the matter of a definite relationship. The correlation figures are indices of a complex group of factors operative in the various parts of the urban community.

Moreover, the relationship between divorce and each of the economic factors does not appear so important when the factor of church membership is held constant. The positive relationship between divorce and relief, however, is maintained to a significant degree, as is also the negative relationship between divorce and the factor of proportion of home ownership. The full detail of these facts is apparent from the table which follows:

TABLE 23

CORRELATION BETWEEN DIVORCE (A) AND EACH OF THE ECONOMIC
FACTORS WHEN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP* IS HELD CONSTANT

AC (Relief).	D	.....	.57	
AC	"	.E	.....	.48
AC	"	.F	.....	.59
AC	"	.Z	.....	.51
AI (Average Rent).	D	.....	-.36	
AI	"	.E	.....	.07
AI	"	.F	.....	-.30
AI	"	.Z	.....	-.18
AJ (Average Value).	D	.....	.33	
AJ	"	.E	.....	.22
AJ	"	.F	.....	-.21
AJ	"	.Z	.....	-.18
AZ' (Average Income).	D	.....	-.31	
AZ'	"	.E	.....	-.05
AZ'	"	.F	.....	-.32
AZ'	"	.Z	.....	-.22
AX' (Home Ownership).	D	.....	-.43	
AX'	"	.E	.....	-.39
AX'	"	.F	.....	-.46
AX'	"	.Z	.....	-.39

*
D Lutheran
E "Protestant"
F Catholic
Z Combined Memberships

The further relationship between divorce and the factor
of church membership may be examined by holding each of the
economic factors constant in turn. Table 24 gives the results of
these calculations.

TABLE 24

CORRELATION BETWEEN DIVORCE (A) AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP
RATES WHEN EACH OF THE ECONOMIC FACTORS* IS
HELD CONSTANT

AD (Lutheran).	C	.....	-.13
AE ("Protestant").	C	.....	-.06
AF (Catholic).	C	.....	-.17
AZ (Combined Membership).	C	.....	-.25

TABLE 24-Continued

AD.I	.....	-.36
AE.I	.....	-.34
AF.I	.....	-.25
AZ.I	.....	-.41
AD.J	.....	-.38
AE.J	.....	-.43
AF.J	.....	-.23
AZ.J	.....	-.43
AD.Z'	.....	-.28
AE.Z'	.....	-.31
AF.Z'	.....	-.23
AZ.Z'	.....	-.40
AD.X'	.....	-.09
AE.X'	.....	-.28
AF.X'	.....	-.09
AZ.X'	.....	-.27

*
 C Relief
 I Average Rent
 J Average Value
 Z' Average Income
 X' Home Ownership

The relationship between divorce and church membership is maintained when all except the factors of relief and proportion of home ownership are held constant. It was precisely the relationship between these two factors of relief and divorce which were maintained when church membership was held constant. The explanation is to be found in the high correlation between these factors and church membership, figures for which are given in Table 25.

TABLE 25

ZERO CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND TWO
 ECONOMIC FACTORS, RELIEF AND HOME OWNERSHIP

C (Relief)	D (Lutheran)	.....	-.31
C "	E ("Protestant")	.....	-.65
C "	F (Catholic)	.....	-.18
X' (Home Ownership)	D	.....	.47
X' "	E	.....	.42
X' "	F	.....	.33

"Case" Analysis of Districts

The foregoing statistical analysis is based upon the general trends as revealed by a study of the factors in the Districts. Most of the Districts do not diverge in any important particular from these general trends. Occasionally, however, among them is to be found a district in which one or more of the factors are quite at variance from the central tendency. If it were not for these cases, the correlation co-efficients would be higher than they are found to be. These Districts warrant some special attention and a "case" analysis of those which reveal the greatest deviations from the central tendency is attempted in the following paragraphs.

The number of divorces in the Enumeration Districts range from a single one for district number 54, a new section of the City called "The Knolls," the total population of which area in 1930 was only 106. This region, because of its general non-conformity with the other sections of the city, might have been eliminated from the list, but in general its rates on the factors under consideration are not greatly out of line with those of other regions. The lowest divorce rate is found in District number 55, with a rate somewhat under one per cent. This district is to be found on what is known as the Middle Bluff and is one of the better residential sections, though it could not be classed as a gold coast area.

The District with the largest number of divorces is Number 45 with a total of sixty-two. This district is in a part of the City which might be termed the "near north side." It lies in a transitional area, retail business being allowed within its boundaries. The total population is large, many of the houses having been converted into small apartment buildings.

Highest Divorce Rates

With its rate of 5.17 District number 69, however, shows the greatest tendency toward divorce. This part of the city offers an interesting contrast to District 54. It is definitely an area of transition. While no industries have actually invaded the area, they encroach upon it from the east and south, and the small shop-keeper, clerk, worker in brewery and distillery, and others mostly of the unskilled laboring groups make every effort

to leave the district as soon as economic circumstances make this possible. It has never been a first-rate residential area, the houses being small and lacking in modern conveniences. Individual wells and cisterns are still in use and evidence is general of the existence of the outdoor toilet. There are numerous signs announcing that apartments and rooms are for rent, and the section is known locally as the working man's area.

Not only has this region a high divorce rate, but it has also a high delinquency rate, second high of the districts, and its relief rate is also second from the highest. Its residents pay the lowest rents in the city and the lowest average value is placed upon the property here. The Protestant church membership rate is very low, the Lutheran membership rate is below the average for the city as a whole, though the Catholic membership rate is somewhat higher than the average. The number of children under the age of five in proportion to the population fifteen to forty-four is below the average rate for the city. The same result is apparent when the number of children under five are compared with the total female population.¹

There is nothing unusual about this District as to foreign elements in the population, the proportion of foreign-born in the population being somewhat above the average, while the proportion of native-born of foreign or mixed parentage is slightly below the average for the city.

Two other Districts, numbers 73 and 42, have comparably high divorce rates, the percentage being 5.15 and 4.81, respectively. The former includes a part of the loop district. It is two blocks wide, extending from Washington to Jefferson Streets, and from Liberty to Cedar which gives it, on the map, a long and narrow appearance. The upper end of the narrow area is entirely retail, and Adams Street, which runs parallel with and between Washington and Jefferson has a definite retail character through the entire length of the district. As much of Washington Street as lies within the area is a combination of retail, wholesale, and manufacturing district. The northern end of Jefferson Street lying within the district is retail in character, while somewhat

¹Information is not available to make possible the numbers of either sex by age groups.

more than half of its distance is covered by residences. It is a transitional area, rooming houses and small home apartments being plentiful. Within the area is one of the city's major recognized sections of prostitution. Like other areas with high divorce rates, this district has high delinquency and relief rates and the rent paid and the average value of property are low. Church membership in all the denominations included in the study is low, and while those of foreign or mixed parentage compose smaller than the average proportion, the percentage of foreign born is higher than the mean for the city. It is the district which has the highest proportion of male population, the per cent of the total being 65.1. The proportion of the population in the age group below twenty is low, and even with the small proportion of the population female, the number of children under five to the total female population, is below the average.

Many of the statements made about district numbers 69 and 73 may also be made of number 42. The most distinctive feature of this district, however, is the fact that it is entirely within the retail area. The 1315 persons whom the census takers found were undoubtedly largely those living in the hotels at the time, slightly more than sixty per cent of whom were males. There is here the low proportion of the population in the lower age brackets while both the relief and delinquency rates are above the normal for the city. Church membership is uniformly low.

Low Divorce Rate Districts

At the other extreme are two districts with unusually low divorce rates, numbers 55 and 34. The former of these has been discussed briefly. In practically all the measurable factors they produce an opposite picture from those with the high rates. They are low in both relief and delinquency rates, while they are equally high and almost as uniformly so in church membership rates. The exception lies in the Catholic membership rate in each of the districts in one of which, number 55, it is very low, while in the other this rate goes well above the membership rates of the other churches. The proportion of men and women in the population is almost equal, one of the districts showing exactly 50 per cent men while the other is 49.7 per cent. The proportion of the younger age groups in the population is

high as is the birth rate computed in several ways. In each district above the average rent is paid, though District number 34 is only slightly above the mean while it falls below in the average value of owner-occupied dwellings. Number 55 is above the average in the latter figure. The proportion of foreign-born is low in each of the districts, though the native-born of foreign parentage is low in one and high in the other.

The Negro District

The proportion of negroes in the population has not been discussed because it is impossible to establish a definite correlation between this factor and divorce. The principal difficulty lies in the fact that there are at least six of the districts which have no negroes at all and there are many of the others that have such a small number that rates would have no value. Of the total of 3,037 negroes who lived in the City in 1930, 1,369 of them lived in the third ward and 1,197 of these lived in Census Enumeration District number 46. This is the major concentration of the colored group, and there are, correspondingly, 36 of the districts within the city having a population of ten or more negroes.

The basic facts concerning negro population in the districts which have been discussed are as follows: district number 34 has no negroes; number 55 has four negroes in a total population of 1,674; while the districts with high divorce rates, numbers 42, 69, and 73, have 8, 87, and 119 negroes, respectively in total populations of 1,315, 2,041, and 1,890.

It may be because of the preponderance of negro population in district number 46 that it shows other deviations from the normal. It has a very low divorce rate of 1.27 while the average for the city is 2.58. It has a population in the age group 5 to 20 in excess of the average for the city, while in the number of children under five, it is below average. This district is below the average in the percentage of both foreign-born and native-born of foreign and mixed parentage as well as in Catholic, Lutheran, and Protestant church memberships. Negro church membership, however, has not been included in the study. Both in the amount of rent and the average value of property this district is below the normal for the city. The relief rate of this district is the third highest being 6.03 while the aver-

age is 1.97. This district is somewhat above the average also in delinquency rate and the unusual aspects of the district are more apparent when it is realized that the highest correlation is to be found between divorce and delinquency on the one hand, and relief on the other. In spite of the low divorce rate, the district must be classified as one in transition and one occupied by unskilled workers.

"Case" studies of the districts could be extended to the limit of the total number. Many of them fall so uniformly into the expected frequency distribution that no special remarks seem to be necessary concerning them. Several others of the districts deviate sufficiently from the normal to warrant some comment.

Other Districts

District number 65 is one with a high divorce rate. It borders on number 69 and lies wholly in the valley region. What was said of the latter district may also be said of number 65 with the one exception that in general the figures for the various factors fall more closely toward the normal for the city as a whole. A part of the district is in the transitional area, but part of it lies farther away from the encroachments of the business and industrial trends. This district possesses the characteristic of having the largest Catholic church membership rate of any of the districts, while the Lutheran membership rate is somewhat below the average and the Protestant membership rate is far below the normal. Relief and delinquency rates, like that of divorce, are above the normal, while the average rent and property values are below the average for the city.

The district which lies in the bluff region having the highest divorce rate is number 35. Lying quite a distance from those districts just discussed with their high divorce rates and comparing with these in its number and rate of divorce, this district compares with the others in no other way. Its relief and delinquency rates are low while the average rent and property value and annual income vary only slightly from the average. The female population slightly exceeds the male and only three negroes lived in the district in 1930. These factors would lead to the belief that this district should have a lower divorce rate than is actually the case. There is the factor of church

membership with its low Lutheran rate while the Protestant and Catholic membership rates are well above the average. The proportion of children under five is low and the negative correlation of $-.18$ between divorce and this factor would tend to give some slight clue to the high divorce rate of the district. In 1937, this district remained a respectable middle class residential region where reside skilled workers and professional groups.

Another fact which makes district number 35 the more difficult to explain is that number 34, lying immediately adjacent and to the west of number 35, has a very low divorce rate, the figure being $.98$ while the average for the city is 2.58 . These two districts are alike in some particulars, number 34 like number 35 having a low delinquency rate, low relief rate, while all of the church membership rates are above the general average for the city.¹ The average rent and average value of property does not deviate in any important way from the normal and the average income is only slightly higher than it is for district number 35. The percentage of children under five is above the average for district number 34, while district number 35 is below normal in this particular. This is one of the most important differences between the two districts.

The difference in the amount of rent paid is approximately six dollars per month on the average, number 35 with its high divorce rate paying \$30.28 per month while in district number 34 the corresponding figure is \$36.25. This figure along with the difference in proportion of children under five form the major distinctions in a comparison of the two districts which form a clue to the differential in divorce rate. In spite of appearance to the contrary² the difference in average rent paid may be an index of some economic deterioration in district number 35 not true, at least to the same degree in 34. The average value of owner-occupied dwellings, however, is almost identically the same, the difference of forty-seven cents being on the side of district number 35.

¹Number 35 is low in proportion of Lutherans.

²See statement of investigator, p. 67.

In search of a possible more satisfactory explanation of the high divorce rate of District number 35, the writer asked a student assistant to make a tour of investigation to ascertain whether there was apparent to the observer any economic deterioration in District number 35 in comparison with the surrounding area, particularly its neighbor, District number 34. He was instructed to observe carefully, but was not informed of the general problem involved.

The report made as a result of his tour through that section of the city contained the following:

It was difficult to see any economic differences between the two districts. In each there are many new, but also some old, houses. Some streets in each of the districts have entire blocks on either side with single family dwellings not over ten years old. If I were compelled to make a guess, I should say that the value of property and rents paid were slightly higher in District number 35.

It is possible that the unusual differences between these two districts, otherwise so much alike, is of little or no significance. If a divorce rate is calculated for the first half of the period rather than for the entire time, the difference is not so striking, though the tendency is still apparent. Separating the first two year period from the total time, there results a divorce rate of .78 for District number 34 as compared with a rate of 1.24 for number 35. When, however, the rates are calculated for the second part of the period, District 35 is found to have a rate almost ten times as large as number 34, the figures being 1.88 for the former and only .19 for the latter. Moreover, reference to the map, page 34 reveals that several of the spots showing the cases of divorce lie next to the street, (Wisconsin Avenue), which separates the two districts. This street is taken by the Bureau of the Census as a dividing line undoubtedly because it is a "through" street. This leaves the two districts very unequal as to geographic size and population. While it is impossible to calculate a rate because the population of the districts would be unknown, it is conceivable that if the division line between the two had been placed just one block to the east, the comparative divorce rates might have shown much less of a contrast.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that when a divorce rate is calculated for the two districts combined the re-

sulting 2.28 shows no important deviation from district numbers 36 and 37, lying adjacent, whose rates are 2.08 and 2.78 respectively.

It will be recalled that the divorce rates of those districts lying in the valley area of the city are generally higher than the comparable rates of the bluff districts. Districts number 78, 68, and 28 are three valley districts with low divorce rates, the first of the three with a rate of 1.12, being third from the lowest among all the districts. It lies at the extreme southwest corner of the city and has a total population of 1,736, 54.5 per cent of which is male. It is a new residential section attracting unskilled workers and the lower income groups among the skilled workers. The average annual income is \$960.00, while the average for the city is \$1,712.00. It is a section in which spare hours are spent by the owners in building their own homes. Average rent paid and average value of property are far below the normal for the city. Relief and delinquency rates are low in correspondence with the low divorce rate. It is the district that manifests the greatest discrepancy in the rates of these factors and the economic factors in income, rent and property value. A relatively large proportion of the population of the district is in the lower age groups. The figures of this district seem to show that while most of the factors are present which make for a high divorce rate, the latter rate is low because the area is new.

District number 68 lies in the heart of Peoria's south side, the whole of which has a high divorce rate. It is surrounded by districts with divorce rates of 1.86, 5.17, 2.59, and 2.74, while the rate in this district is 1.53. All of these are above the average of 2.58 for the city except 1.86, the rate for District number 67. Because of their similarity in low divorce rate District numbers 67 and 68 may be discussed together.

As might be expected from their geographic location their delinquency rates are high, though their relief rates are low in correspondence with divorce. In church membership these districts show some peculiarities, being low in Protestant church membership, but above the average in both Lutheran and Catholic membership rates. They are both above the average in the proportion of foreign-born and native-born of foreign or

mixed parentage. There is a slight preponderance in the proportion of their population in the lower age brackets, while the three important economic factors, viz., average rent paid, average value of property and average annual income, are uniformly below the normal for the city as a whole. There is a possibility, though it is conjecture only, that the existence in District number 67 of Proctor Recreation Center may have a bearing on the fact that figures for the various factors are different in these two areas from those of the other districts.

While no complete description of this institution is to be included, a brief statement about it may be appended here because of its possible influence on the factors under consideration. It is what the name implies, a center of recreation for children and adults operated and administered by the Park Board, an elected administrative body. A conception of the significance of the program of Proctor Recreation Center is best obtained by realization of the size of the annual budget which is twenty-five thousand dollars, and the number of those participating in its various activities, there being a total of twenty-six thousand persons monthly.

Last of the valley districts with a strikingly low divorce rate is number 28. Lying in the northeast part of the city just under the edge of the bluff, it follows the pattern of the bluff districts in most of the factors. Only in its delinquency rate, which is somewhat above the normal for the city, does it deviate from the other sections of the city which have low divorce rates. A study of the map, Chart 2, reveals that none of the six divorces spotted in the area is located in the long, narrow part of the district, which lies along the edge of the bluff. The total population of the district is small, the number of its inhabitants in 1930 being 859. Of this number there is a slight preponderance of males and while the birth rate is slightly below the average for the city, the population in the age groups fifteen to forty-four is just above the figure for the city as a whole. Above the average proportion of the population belongs to Protestant churches and, while the Lutheran membership rate is low, the Catholic membership rate is slightly above the average. The relief rate is low in the district and the three economic factors of average rent, average

value of property and the average annual income are all above the average for the city. When all these factors are taken into consideration, a low divorce rate is to be expected.

Finally, in the list of districts which deviate most widely from the expected, is District number 60, a bluff district which has a divorce rate of 3.31, while the city-wide figure is 2.58. Along the western edge of this district runs University Avenue, a principal traffic artery along which is developing an outlying business district. There are service stations, drug stores, taverns and a rather large gift shop on this street within the limits of this district. Dry Run Creek runs through the district and until the recent improvement project, was sufficiently unattractive so that there are few first-rate residences within the area. This is born out by the fact that the average rent paid is below the average for the city, although in both average value of property and income, the district is well above the average. Perhaps the explanation for these rates being high is the business property, mentioned before, along University Avenue and the incomes derived therefrom. The birth rate is high, though the proportion of the population in the lower and middle age brackets is low. This is one factor which has a bearing on the high divorce rate since it is calculated on the proportion of those in the age group twenty-one to forty-four. In this age group there is a percentage of 36.84 in the district while the average for the city is 42.58. However, when the divorce rate is calculated with the total population as a basis, the rate for district number 60 still remains high, 1.21, while the average for the city as a whole is 1.11.

The delinquency rate of the district is high in conformity with divorce, though the relief rate is low. The Lutheran and other Protestant church membership rates are above the average, while the Catholic rate is only a little more than half the average for the city as a whole.

This may be a district which is feeling the influence of the beginning of a transition from residential to a retail district in a portion of its area.

The districts discussed in the preceding paragraphs contain the extremes in the variation in divorce rates, though there is also a variation in the other districts. It has been pointed

out that not only the number of divorces but also the divorce rates are higher in that section of the city which lies in the valley districts. Also it will be recalled that there is a variation in the number of divorces and in the divorce rates in the ten wards of the city. There is a further variation within the Census Enumeration districts lying within these larger subdivisions. These variations are to be expected.

Perhaps the more significant fact is that others of the factors for which information is available for each of the districts vary also, and they vary with some definite relationship, positive or negative, with the divorce rate.

Summary

The two ways in which the city is divided which allow for statistical analysis, Wards and Census Enumeration Districts, the latter are the more useful because of, (a) their larger number and consequent smaller size, and (b) more facts are known or discoverable when the districts are used as units. For these general reasons the Enumeration Districts are used as bases for detailed analysis.

The statistical analysis reveals four major factors in significant relationship with each other, viz., divorce, delinquency, economic conditions, and church membership. In general, there is a negative correlation between divorce and the more favorable economic conditions in the districts, viz., high rent, high value of property, high income and a high proportion of home ownership, while there is a positive relationship between divorce and relief. There is also a high positive correlation between divorce and church membership is a negative one. The partial correlation figures as well as those of the zero order reveal a complex inter-relationship existing among these factors in the city.

The statistical technique does not, perhaps cannot, separate out the factors which are cause from those which are effect. There are some, no doubt, who would be willing to say at once that the causal factors are economic, producing disorganization in human relations as represented by divorce and delinquency. Others, while they may be gratified that the influence of church membership is against divorce, delinquency, and relief, would still be inclined to attribute these aspects of social

disorganization to the failure of the Church in its functioning in human affairs. Still others would, no doubt, place the blame on deeply rooted, if not inherent, human frailty which results directly in these and other forms of social disorganization.

The final answer remains elusive, but it is clear that on the one side stand divorce, delinquency, and relief, while on the other are to be found a larger proportion of the people adhering to the churches, having relatively high incomes, a large proportion of them owning their homes, and living in those parts of the city where property values are high.

In most cases the districts fall into a normal or expected distribution curve. The exceptions have been dealt with individually in some "case" studies of the districts. These areas which deviate from the central tendency do not interfere with the conclusions drawn from the statistics, however. It is apparent, on the contrary, that without these districts the correlation figures would be higher than is shown in the tables.

CHAPTER V

LEGAL VERSUS SOCIAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS IN DIVORCE

That the legal grounds for divorce often give only the merest clue to the underlying factors has been apparent for some time. Judge C. W. Hoffman of the Court of Domestic Relations in Cincinnati has pointed out that it is impossible to arrive at the real factors in court procedure "because at least three-fourths of the divorces had valid grounds but would perjure themselves rather than speak the facts in court."¹ The court complaints are, therefore, "merely light talk." The Bureau of the Census in making its studies of marriage and divorce has recognized the unsatisfactory character of the study with reference to causes for legal decrees. The statement is made that:

the legal cause shown by the court records may or may not be the true cause underlying the action for divorce. Where the husband and the wife both desire the divorce it is probable that frequently the real cause for the action is not the cause alleged in the petition for divorce. Frequently, too, the actual cause is not a legal cause in the particular state in which the court action takes place. For instance, neglect to provide some jurisdictions, suits brought primarily for this reason are granted on the grounds of cruelty; in others desertion is named; gross neglect of duty is named as the cause in at least three states; while in others the husband is declared to be a vagrant in the eyes of the law, and the decree granted on the grounds of vagrancy. For this reason, it may be truthfully said that in the compilation, statistics covering divorce, there is no phase of the subject as unsatisfactory to those interested in the study as the causes assigned for the granting of the decrees.

As a part of this study a field worker sat in on a number of divorce cases, noted the legal reasons given for the separation and other facts brought out in the hearings and then made contact with one or both of the parties to the divorce in order to get a clearer conception of the reasons for the difficulties in the relationship.

The first case given is one in which the divorce was

¹Quoted by Cahen, Statistical Analysis of Divorce, p. 46.

granted for desertion when, if the facts had been more nearly adhered to, the cause would have been drunkenness. But the Illinois law requires that there be evidence of "habitual drunkenness for two years," so that desertion was the reason given. Names of the persons involved and places are altered to hide the identity. The principal facts in the legal decree are as follows:

The Court having heard the oral testimony of witness sworn and examined in open Court, and being fully advised in the premises, on consideration thereof finds that the Court has jurisdiction of the subject matter and the parties to this suit, and that the defendant, George L-----, subsequent to his marriage with the plaintiff, Etta G-----, willfully deserted and abandoned himself from said plaintiff, his wife, without any reasonable cause, and that he has persisted in such desertion from said plaintiff, for more than one year prior to the filing of her said complaint, and still persists in such desertion; and that all of the material allegations of said complaint have been fully proved by said plaintiff, and that plaintiff is entitled to the relief prayed for.

It is therefore Ordered, Adjudged, and Decreed by the Court that the marriage between said plaintiff, Etta G-----, and said defendant, George L-----, be, and the same is, hereby dissolved, and the parties are, and each of them is, hereby forever freed from all the obligations thereof.

-----, Judge

The conditions out of which the need for the divorce arose, however, as told by the plaintiff, the wife in this case, are as follows:

The real reason for divorcing my husband was drunkenness, although I obtained the divorce on grounds of desertion.

We had been married for nine years. We operated a Barber Shop and Beauty Parlor in C----- Street. In fact, the reason I took up beauty work was so that I could be in the shop with my husband.

We never had any quarrels and he always treated me wonderfully. As I said, the trouble started when he began drinking. He would go out on stags and come in about four or five in the morning dead drunk. Sometimes he would have a cut or be badly beaten up as a result of a fight he had gotten into after having been drinking. He would come home in the morning in this condition on the average of once a week. This kept up for two years and I was nearly a nervous wreck. I never knew when to expect him home. He always was sorry afterwards and would say, 'Why did I ever do that? Oh, I'll never do that again.' But the habit was growing on him and he couldn't seem to stop drinking.

We separated, then, for about six months. Then he came and asked me to take him back. As he promised to act differently, I decided to give him another chance. We lived together this time for only about four or five months, because he was worse than before. It got so that men were afraid to have him shave them as it takes a steady hand to do that sort

of work and he was drinking so heavily that he was becoming very unsteady. He used to take two or three glasses of whiskey in the morning just to "keep him going" and would drink two or three more during the course of the day.

At parties after he began drinking he would get mean and try to pick a fight with some of his best friends. However, he never was mean to me.

For my own physical welfare I felt it best that I get a divorce. We are still friends. As he is in a barber shop here in town, I see him quite often on the street and we always speak. I do not believe he is drinking as much now as he did because he is working for someone else and he knows that he can't do as he did when he owned his own shop. Before he got this job he used to come to me for money when he got into trouble and I would always give it to him. Oh, I guess I was a sap.

As we had been separated altogether a year (counting the six months we lived apart the first time) I was able to get the divorce on grounds of desertion.

The next case reveals that the two year requirement for habitual drunkenness is not always strictly adhered to if the facts, as told by the man in this case are correct, for he says the divorce was granted somewhat less than two years after the marriage, even though the cause was "habitual drunkenness." It is clear in this case that there is an important difference, among other things, in the temperaments of the couple and perhaps the experience with liquor only tended to accentuate this condition. The man's story follows:

In 1932 I decided that I had done about everything else there was to do but get married, so without giving the matter too much thought and consideration, Mabel and I were married.

I had a pretty good job and wasn't financially hit as were so many of my friends. I worked pretty hard all week, however, and when Saturday night came I felt that it was perfectly all right, to go out on a party and get--well, pretty drunk. Before our marriage, Mabel used to drink with me, but afterwards she changed and wouldn't touch anything. We used to bicker and quarrel quite a lot. But our dispositions were not at all alike. I could blow up one minute and then it would be all over, but no so with her. She would nurse a grudge. And she would sit and pout for a long time (oh, two or three days, anyway) over some quarrel we had had.

I decided that I wouldn't drink any more because she did seem to mind it so much. So I didn't--for three months. Then I threw a party! And it was some party! Evidently, I couldn't get enough to drink and must have gone out for more for I woke up at a hotel in Chicago the next morning. I learned from one of my friends later that I had met a hitch-hiker who was going to Chicago so I decided to go too!

I came home that day to find that I had been sued for divorce. My wife had begun proceedings immediately. She had gone to the one attorney in town who didn't like me and told

him quite a story about how big a drunkard I was, etc. I got to him in time to stop his publishing an account of my behavior in the newspaper because that would have proved fatal to my job, I knew. The papers were filed in the court, however.

About two or three weeks after this, I was driving over to Indianapolis to the races when I met along the side of the road three fellows whom I believed to be hitch-hikers because they thumbed a ride in the usual manner. As I used to be a hitch-hiker, myself, and had quite a lot of luck in getting rides when coming home from Champaign, I always felt indebted to the great army of hitch-hikers, so I stopped. But these three were not hitch-hikers. They pulled a gun on me and demanded my money and my car. Like a fool, I tried to wrest the gun away from them and as a result was shot through the shoulder.

I experienced a close call for my life at this time. When Mabel thought I was going to die, she thought I was the most wonderful man on earth and talked of dropping divorce proceedings. But when I started to get better I did not encourage this because I thought I might like to "throw a party" again.

Mabel got her divorce not quite two years after we were married. I was always sorry we hadn't stayed married for two years so I could say I had been married two years. However, when I thought if a couple of kids couldn't make a go of it for two years, why stick it out for fifty-two more.

I didn't think I could stand it, at first,--the thought of a divorce--the idea of being a divorced man. But I got over that, and now, although I'm not in the least proud of it, I just don't think about it.

I wouldn't care to ever be married to Mabel again. We are still friends. In fact, I was out with her last Sunday.

The case of Ira and Laura is one in which Ira had had a divorce and brought with him to his second marriage a child who appealed to Laura. She says, "I believe it was because of her that I married him." And then as the focal point in the reason for divorce she says, "What hurt me more than anything else, I believe, was when I overheard him telling his little girl something about me to turn her against me."

The legal cause for their divorce was "extreme and repeated cruelty," but that this does not give a clear conception of the case is clear from the story as told by Laura. She is the type of young woman who has been more than cooperative. In fact, she insisted on telling the investigator about her case after the contact was made. She gave the investigator three kodak pictures of the four parties involved.

There is evidence that a mother-son attachment was a factor in both this case and the first divorce of Ira's. This Oedipus complex probably was sufficient to make his adjustment in

marriage a very difficult matter--the more difficult perhaps because neither he nor his mother understood it.

Here is Laura's story:

I obtained my divorce on the grounds of cruelty, but that was only a matter of form. The reason I applied for divorce was because I knew things couldn't go on as they had. We had gotten so that we didn't care about each other. We completely ignored each other for about the last three months we lived together.

We were married in Indiana, but he lived with his mother and little girl in Illinois, and I lived at my home for two weeks after our marriage. He had been working only part time so we decided to come to Peoria, and to try our luck here as many people were doing then. The first time we lived together, then, was when we came to this city. I obtained steady work right away at K-----'s, but he was only successful in getting temporary jobs and, again, only worked part time. As a consequence I kept up most of the expenses and while he was dependent on me, he was pretty nice to me. However, he missed his mother and sent for her to come and live with us. A few days after his mother and little girl came to live with us, he obtained a steady position and from that time on paid no attention to me. His mother did not try to turn him from me. In fact, she tried to keep us together. What hurt me more than anything else, I believe, was when I overheard him telling his little girl something about me to turn her against me. I had adored the little girl from the moment I had seen her, and she had liked me right away (which was unusual as she did not usually make up with strangers). I think it was because of her that I married him. I loved children anyway and I wanted to be a mother to this little growing girl. He asked me to marry him two or three times but I had turned him down. I finally agreed that it was worth a trial. I suppose I should have considered marriage more than a trial.

I would say that it was his mother that broke us up. Not because she tried to, but because he just couldn't seem to get along without her. No one could quite occupy for him the place his mother held. In fact, she was the reason for his first divorce, even though there was a child involved. But I did not know this before I married him.

There was no sense in us going on living together. We had no interest in each other any more.

It is not always that the legal record and the real story are so discrepant. In the next case, told by the woman, it is clear that there were sedistic tendencies on the part of the man and the legal cause for the divorce was cruelty. The story follows:

We eloped and were married. We quarreled quite a bit but never had any serious fights until one night two weeks after we were married. Even this would not have been serious if my husband had not lost his temper and hit me in the eye. He had a very quick temper. He hit me quite hard, causing

an infection to set in. It was necessary that I have surgical care. In fact, the next day after the quarrel I could hardly see out of my eye. When I came to work the doctor (she worked in the office of a physician) took an X-ray of my eye which disclosed the infection.

I lost all respect and any love I had for my husband when he struck me. I filed suit for divorce against him on grounds of cruelty. As it was necessary to advertise for him to make an appearance in court, it was not until six months later that I was granted my divorce.

Five minor children were involved in the next case, the divorce being granted because the "defendant has been guilty of habitual drunkenness for a period of more than five years." The legal findings give a fairly adequate picture of what the actual situation was. The woman, who was the plaintiff, tells the story:

Drinking--constant drinking--was the reason I was compelled to divorce my husband. For the last two or three years he drank and was drunk almost all the time. And when he would drink he would get just as mean as anyone could be. He would take C-----, here, by the arm and pull him across the table. He treated us all mean after he had been drinking. One time when he was drunk he took a gun and forced us out of the house. Another time when I was having a party for my mother, he put a snake in the stove and frightened my poor mother so that she never got over it. In fact, I believe it had a great deal to do with her death. Two weeks after this event I had a miscarriage and two weeks from that time my mother died. He was drunk most of the time, so you can see how much misery is caused from drink.

I have worked most of the time for the past twelve years in factories, restaurants and now in a distillery. I have had to make a living for my children because he could not be depended upon to care for us.

He began to drink more and more all the time and I believe my children have a lot to do with my decision to get a divorce because he certainly was no kind of a father to them. The incident of the snake which occurred two years ago was also one of the important reasons for my getting the divorce. I will never get over my mother's fright at this.

I don't know where he is now. I did not ask for alimony for my children very much because I do not know how he could pay it. I don't know where he would get the money because he hardly ever works.

The next case is one whose legal cause for divorce is desertion. This cause never gives a complete picture because the reason for desertion is not clearly given. The court must be persuaded merely that there is no "reasonable or just" cause for the abandonment.

In this case the woman who tells the story rationalizes that the husband had not liked the responsibility that goes with

the rearing of a child. But it was a number of years after the birth of the child before the incident occurred which brought about the disappearance of her husband. Here is her story:

The only reason that I could give for my husband acting as he did was that he did not like responsibility.

We were married in 1919 and lived together, happily, until 1927. We had one daughter, who is now fifteen years old. My husband had never wanted B----- because he did not like the responsibility of rearing and educating a child.

He had never quarreled with me, in fact, the closest we came to quarreling was when I asked him what he had done with some money that he had.

He had been granted one hundred dollars in a judgment case for an accident that he had been in. He told me that he only received a dollar. However, my sister had seen in the papers that he had received one hundred dollars and told me. She and I went down to the Court House and looked up the case and found that he had been granted that amount. We were to meet him downtown that afternoon. When he came, walking down the street about an hour late and swaggering like the Prince of Wales or somebody, I said, "I found out that you received one hundred dollars in that case the other day." He treated the matter lightly, said I was right, and gave me twenty-five dollars which he said was my share.

Everything, then, was the same as usual. We finished our shopping, went home and had supper. He wanted to play cards that evening but, it being Saturday night I wanted to go to a show so he agreed to go. After the show we came home and he suggested that I make some coffee and he would go back downtown and get some sandwiches. I waited for a long time but he didn't come home, so I decided that he had gone out to play poker after all.

The next morning I asked him how much he lost the night before. He said it was none of my business.

"I think it is my business," I said, "Let me see that wallet."

"If you so much as touch that wallet," he said, "I'll walk out of this house and never come back."

The wallet was lying on the table. I reached over and merely touched it.

"Very well," he said, "I told you I would and I'm leaving."

I told him if that was the way he felt I would help him pack and to this day I have not seen him.

I do believe that he was sorry as soon as he left, however, but had too much pride to come back. That has been nine years ago. I thought for many years that he would come back but finally decided that there was no sense in still being married to someone whom I had not seen for nine years.

I thought a lot of my husband. We always had grand times together, and the only reason that I can think of for his staying away from me is that he did not care to assume any responsibilities.

The case of Grace and Arthur is one in which there is a conscious deviation of the real facts in the legal complaint.

The desertion had not continued for a sufficient length of time when the divorce was desired, therefore, cruelty became the grounds for complaint and the cause of the divorce. Grace tells the story:

Although I obtained my divorce on the grounds of cruelty, it was not because my husband beat me or was cruel to me in that manner. It was the disappointment, worry, and forlornness caused me when Arthur, without any good reason at all, packed up and left me.

I did everything I could to make him happy because I loved him, and still do very much. I kept our home attractive and tried to cook everything that he liked even though I was working in a downtown office at the time.

As he only worked part time for the L----- Co., I supported him and even helped his family by buying coal for them. He treated me well, but always talked about going out of town to look for a job. He wanted to go to Chicago to get some work but I tried to convince him that we would get along all right if he would stay here. With my steady salary and his part time work I felt that we could get along and we did have almost everything that made for comfortable, though simple, living.

But in spite of all I could say or do, I came home one evening to find the car gone and on further investigation everything of his gone, too. He had taken my suitcase and even my toothpaste. The neighbors told me that his father had been over that afternoon and helped him pack. I, then, went over to his family's house but they told me that they knew nothing of it and had no idea where he had gone. I knew they were lying because I had always felt that his father had encouraged him to leave me even though I had done everything for him and his family.

I thought he would come back and watched every car, hoping and thinking it would be he but he never came.

I filed suit for and was granted a divorce. I got my divorce on grounds of cruelty instead of desertion because I would have to wait a year to get a divorce on grounds of desertion. In the meantime I had met another man whom I liked very much and I thought he could help me to forget Arthur. It was clear to me by this time that Arthur would never come back.

I still love Arthur in spite of everything and will never get over him. However, I believe that all men are alike. No marriage would last more than two or three years if there were not ties such as children to hold the parties together.

These cases reveal the gulf that exists between the supposed facts as they are revealed in the legal hearings and the real facts as secured in more intimate personal contacts.

A further contrast between the legal and social causes for divorce is made possible by the answers given by a group of four hundred and ten divorced persons studied. They were asked to state both the legal grounds upon which the divorce was secured

and also the real reason for the difficulty which led to divorce.¹
A statistical comparison of these answers is a part of the next
chapter.²

¹See questions 36 and 37 of Appendix XI.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL FACTORS IN DIVORCE

By means of comparing factors in the lives of a group of divorced persons with a Control group, the attempt is made here to discover the more basic conditions out of which divorce is apt to arise. The questionnaire method has been employed with only those variations made in the schedules which were necessary for adaptation to the two groups. Complete copies of each questionnaire are to be found as Appendices XI and XII.

Answers to the questionnaire were solicited by mature college students and all the solicitation was of a personal nature. No selected group was asked to contribute their answers, but the method employed was as follows: the court records were consulted and names of all those having received divorces after March 1, 1930 were listed. The addresses of as many of these as possible were ascertained by making use of the City Directory which was also the source of information concerning the occupations of those in each of the groups. Those for whom addresses could be found were then solicited by the student either at his or her home or at the place of business or employment.

With reference to the selection of the Control group, three factors were kept in mind: first, they were secured in the same sections of the city and in the same numbers in each case as the Divorced group. The purpose of this, of course, is to hold constant as nearly as possible the factor of economic status. Second, the length of time married was substantially the same as was true of the Divorced group. Third, although it was somewhat more difficult to control than the other factors, the occupations of the two groups were kept as nearly identical as possible. The occupation of the person in the Control group was not known before he was sought out and asked to fill out the questionnaire, but it was thought that by going to the same parts of the city for this group, where those of the Divorced group were found, the occupations would be held fairly constant. The results are given in

Table 26 and it seems to reveal that when the occupations of the men are considered, the results are fairly satisfactory. For about half the men in each group it was impossible to secure information as to occupation, so that we have data on seventy-nine men in the Divorced group and ninety-two in the Control group.

More difficulty was encountered in the control of the occupation of the women. In the Divorced group there were only thirty-five women whose occupation could be ascertained, and these included eight maids, one beauty parlor operator, four seamstresses, one forelady, two cooks, one waitress, six stenographers, four clerks, two housekeepers, three saleswomen, two cashiers, one student, and one sorter. There were in this group sixty-nine divorced women who gave the occupations of their former husbands, but there were more than a hundred whose occupations were unascertainable. In the Control group the great majority of the women were housewives, there being only fifteen who gave other occupations, these being five teachers, five waitresses, one stenographer, one social worker, one buyer, and two clerks.

The detailed information for the men, however, which is obviously of more importance than it is for the women's groups is given here.

TABLE 26
OCCUPATIONS OF MEN IN DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS

Occupation	Divorced Group	Control Group
Barbers.....	2	0
Bell Hops.....	1	0
Chauffeurs.....	2	1
Collectors.....	2	0
Carpenters.....	4	3
Contractors.....	1	0
Assemblers.....	1	0
Draftsmen.....	1	0
Foremen.....	1	0
Grocers.....	3	2
Inspectors.....	1	0
Janitors.....	2	0
Laborers.....	12	15
Managers.....	4	9
Mechanics.....	6	9
Miners.....	1	0

TABLE 26-Continued

Occupation	Divorced Group	Control Group
Firemen.....	1	0
Plumbers.....	2	4
Painters.....	1	1
Switchmen.....	1	0
Watchmen.....	1	0
Attending college....	2	1
Aviation official....	0	1
Unemployed.....	0	2
Engineers.....	3	5
Ministers.....	0	1
Lawyer.....	0	2
Social workers.....	0	2
Bookkeepers.....	0	6
Florists.....	0	1
Jewelers.....	0	1
Policemen.....	0	1
Lumbermen.....	1	1
Truck and bus drivers	8	5
Salesmen.....	17	19

While there was no attempt to hold the factor of church membership constant as answers to the questionnaire were solicited the factor of church membership is measurable in each group. The important question is the proportion of divorced persons belonging to the Catholic church as opposed to the number belonging to that denomination in the Control group. Comparison of answers given to question 15 for each of the groups¹ reveals that 21.43 of the Control group belongs to the Catholic church, while the proportion of Catholics in the Divorced group is 19.19.

With reference to the method employed in securing the data it may be said, further, that the students were carefully instructed to present their case with as much care and skill as possible with the result that between forty and fifty per cent of those solicited gave the desired information. This figure is for the Divorced group. Those who were asked to fill out the corresponding questionnaire for those adjusted in their marriage relation were co-operative in a larger proportion of the cases. If this is successful beyond what might be expected in this sort

¹See Appendices XI, XII.

of study, one factor in explanation probably is the fact that early in the study there was some favorable newspaper and radio publicity given the project. It was the testimony of the field workers that frequently they were met with the statement by the person solicited that he or she knew about the study and would be glad to co-operate. Moreover, the students were aided by the letterhead of the Department of Sociology and Political Science and had, therefore, the approval of the College.¹

The number of men and women answering the questionnaire was kept as nearly equal as possible, but women were somewhat easier to find at home than were the men. The greater number of women answering the questions is somewhat larger than the number of men for this reason and possibly also for the fact that the women may have been more co-operative than the men, although there is no specific information on this point. Table 27 gives the corresponding numbers of the sexes filling out the schedules for each of the groups, the Divorced group and those adjusted in their marriage relations designated the "Control group."

TABLE 27

SEX DIVISION AND TOTALS OF THOSE WHO RESPONDED
TO THE SOLICITATION TO FILL IN ANSWERS
TO QUESTIONS IN SCHEDULES

	Men	Women	Total
Divorced group.....	174	236	410
Control group.....	169	237	406
Total.....	343	473	816

Comparative Analysis

All but four of the Divorced group answered the question, "By whom were you married?" while only 345 of the 406 in the Control group answered the question. If there is a differential factor in the answers to this question, it is the fact that 239 of the former were married by minister or priest while 167 were married by a judge or justice of the peace. This information is

¹See Appendix XI.

summarized in Table 28.

TABLE 28
COMPARISON OF DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS AS
TO FUNCTIONARY OFFICIATING AT MARRIAGE

Married by	Divorced Group	Control Group
Minister or Priest.....	239	325
Judge or Justice of Peace	167	20
Total.....	406	345

The question to be asked, of course, is whether people who are married by a judge or justice of the peace have marital difficulties culminating in divorce in greater numbers than do those married by minister or priest. The figures give no definite answers, but tend to verify the a priori conceptions of those who assume either that the religious sanction in marriage is a safeguard against marriage failure or that those who take the matter more seriously and who because of their more serious attitudes will make a success of marriage and will insist upon the sanction of the church as well as that of the state.

The mean of the ages at which the Divorced group was married is 23.38 while the figure for the Control group is 23.89, probably not a significant difference. The median shows a slightly greater discrepancy, that for the Divorced group being 23.02 while the median age of the Control group is 23.98.

It was thought that there might be a variance between the two groups as to the tendency to own their homes. It was not the conception that there could be shown any definite cause and effect relationship. But if not, then does the group adjusted in their marriage relation tend to own homes in larger proportions than is true of a Divorced group? The question asked was whether they were in the process of buying a home or planning to do so at the time the divorce was granted. In so far as the answers show results they tend to confirm the hypothesis which formed the basis for the question, that is, that there is a relationship

between non-home ownership and divorce.¹ Of the Divorced group, 175 were buying or planning to buy a home while 199 were making no such plans, but in the Control group 197 were either in process of purchasing or were planning to purchase a home while 113 did not so plan. The comparative figures are presented in tabular form.

TABLE 29
DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS COMPARED AS TO
HOME OWNERSHIP OR PLANS FOR
HOME OWNERSHIP

Buying or Planning to Buy a Home	Yes	No	Total
Divorced group....	175	199	374
Control group.....	197	113	310
Total.....	372	312	684

It seems rather significant that of the 408 of the Divorced group who answered the question as to the marital status of their parents 117 or 28.68 per cent had parents who were divorced, though 291 came from homes which were not thus broken. As a matter of comparison, only 25 or 7.08 per cent of the 353 who answered the question in the Control group questionnaire had parents who were either unhappy or very unhappy in their marriage relation. On the other hand, 328 of the 353 or 93 per cent were declared either happy, very happy, or medium happy, and of these the smallest group, 76 were only average happy.

The question may be asked concerning the point just discussed as well as some of the others as to whether this Control group is not giving expected or conventional answers to the questions. The only reply that can be given is that in the process of study, every precaution was taken to insure against merely expected or conventional answers. The device most usually used where there was hesitancy on the part of the person questioned to be frank in his or her answers was the suggestion of the field

¹See also negative correlation between divorce and home ownership, Chapter IV, supra.

worker that a stamped envelope would gladly be left addressed directly to the Department of Sociology at the College. When thus sent, it was impossible for anyone to identify the person who answered the questions. No record was kept as to the number who preferred to maintain their anonymity by taking advantage of this plan, but the number was probably not far from a hundred. It may be added in this connection that a certain number, in conformity with the request in the letter which accompanied the questionnaire, cared so little to remain anonymous that they were willing to give their names and addresses in order that further investigation might be made if desired.

The question of the relative educational achievement of the two groups is an interesting one since it was suggested earlier in these pages, following the lead of Dr. Lichtenberger, that there might be some correlation between culture measured by lack of illiteracy in a community, and the divorce rate. The figures of the present study tend to substantiate Lichtenberger's conclusion.

The findings are in conformity, also, with those of Burgess and Cottrell in their recent study of adjustment in marriage. They conclude from the data of their study that "the higher the educational level at the time of marriage the greater the chances are that the marriage adjustment score will be high."¹ While the methods of study vary greatly it seems significant that the results of three studies lead to the conclusion that there is a relationship between success in marriage and educational achievement. It is to be hoped that other studies will supply information bearing on the question here involved. The two groups in this study were asked to underline figures revealing the year of schooling completed. Based on the information given there is somewhat less than two years of schooling achieved by the Control group beyond that attained by the Divorced group. The average year completed by the Divorced group is 10.39 while the corresponding figure for the Control group is 12.13. The difference between the two means is 2.59 times the error of the difference; therefore, a significant variation in the educational

¹"Prediction of 'Adjustment in Marriage,'" American Sociological Review, I, No. 5, (October, 1936), 747. See especially their table, p. 748.

work accomplished by the two groups. Table 30 gives the figures in detail from which the averages are derived.

TABLE 30
NUMBER IN DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS
COMPLETING YEARS OF SCHOOLING

Year of Schooling Completed	Divorced Group	Control Group
1	1	0
2	1	0
3	4	1
4	13	1
5	5	1
6	17	5
7	25	6
8	76	40
9	35	10
10	45	37
11	46	20
12	80	81
13	18	37
14	16	35
15	19	19
16	15	55
17	1	6
Totals.....	405	354

There are two questions concerning the interests of the two groups under comparison. The more important one concerns the similarity of interest or interests of husband and wife. The one of less significance is the question of what the chief interests are. Table 31 gives the list of interests and the number of persons in each group interested in each item. It is difficult to say whether the table reveals any significant differences, but it will be noted that the items which show the greatest differences in interests are reading, ninety-nine of the Divorced group naming it, while 136 of the Control group name it as an important interest in their lives. The difference with reference to the religious interest in the two groups may be important, scarcely half as many in the Divorced group naming this item as being central in their lives as compared with those of the Control group. This fact seems to follow closely the correlations men-

tioned previously. From a calculation of the errors of difference of the items in this table the only one of significance seems to be the difference between the two groups as to social life. It is preferred by the Divorced group in the proportion of 116 to 68 for the Control group. The item apparently next in importance is the matter of religious interests, but the difference is only 1.33 times the error of the difference, and apparently of little or no significance. It will be noted that the number answering the question is larger than the total who returned the questionnaire. This is to be accounted for by the fact that some gave more than one item as one of their chief interests.

TABLE 31
CHIEF INTERESTS INDICATED BY THOSE IN
DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS

Chief Interests	No. in Divorced Group Naming the Item	No. in Control Group Naming the Item
Reading.....	99	136
Political matters.....	35	25
Theatrical entertainment	104	107
Religious matters.....	38	74
Social life.....	116	68
Friends.....	83	105
Sports.....	137	151
Hobbies.....	25	22
Nothing.....	5	1
Totals.....	642	689

When the question is asked concerning the similarity of interests of husband and wife, the tendency toward identification of interests leans heavily over to the side of the Control group. So striking are the differences between the two groups that one is inclined to ask if this matter of similarity of interests is not one of the major factors in the maintenance of successful family relationships. This point is related to the question which is asked subsequently, concerning the reasons for marriage. The large majority of both groups give "love" as their reason for

marriage. It is apparent that the large majority of marriages are the result of romanticism.

The relation between "interests" and "love" as the words are here used could be conceived in either of two ways: first, that love includes common interests, or second, that romanticism means the exclusion of every other consideration. Probably in practice there is reached something of a middle ground, those who in recent years have been writing concerning the inadequacy of the romantic impulse as the sole basis for the consummation of marriage are persuasive in their contentions that romanticism is too often not sufficiently tempered with other considerations. Perhaps the pioneer work of this type was the article by Burgess published in The Survey Graphic, in December, 1926.¹ There is a good review of the whole question as well as a rather complete list of citations of the literature in Social Disorganization by Elliott and Merrill.² Lichtenberger, on the other hand, insists that there is no other justifiable ground for the consummation of marriage than love.³ The seeming disagreement here is probably to be explained on the ground that for some love and the romantic impulse are synonymous, while Lichtenberger would insist upon a broader meaning; that is, for him love would include, perhaps, the element of similarity of interests. Moreover, Mowrer has defined the romantic impulse as a combination of sentiments which have the wish for response only as a basis.⁴ Ogburn⁵ has pointed out its significance, but that there should be in addition to the romantic sentiments, some degree of similarity of interest between husbands and wives is clearly the conclusion to be reached from the data here presented. So important does this seem that

¹Survey Graphic, LVII (October, 1936), 290-294.

²Chapter XX. See also Mowrer, Family Disorganization (Chicago, 1927), p. 158 ff., and Lewisohn, "Is Love Enough?" Harper's, CLXVI (1926), 544 ff.

³J. P. Lichtenberger, Divorce, Chap. XVII and p. 332.

⁴Mowrer, Family Disorganization, p. 60.

⁵Ogburn, "The Changing Family," in Publications of the American Sociological Society, XVIII (Chicago, 1923), 124 ff.

it may be said that the exploration of mutual interests and the assessment of them as a welding influence is the supreme purpose of courtship. This finding is in complete conformity with that of Burgess and Cottrell who state that "the proportion of 'very happy' group who say they engage in all outside activities together is about fifteen times as great as those engaged in few or none of their outside activities together."¹ Table 32 presents the data of the present study on this point.

TABLE 32
NUMBER IN DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS HAVING THE SAME
OR SIMILAR INTERESTS AS HUSBAND OR WIFE

Interests the Same	Divorced Group	Control Group
All interests the same	32	129
Some of them	196	201
A few of them.....	129	15
None of them.....	50	4
Totals.....	407	349

Inquiry was made as to the church affiliation of the two groups. Only 104 of the Control group have the information concerning their church membership but of those who answered the question in the Divorced group there were 302 who signified church affiliation. The proportionate membership of the various denominations does not vary greatly from what would be expected in the community and probably follows rather closely the proportion that each denomination forms in the population as a whole.

More significant, however, is the attempt made in the present study to ascertain the amount of church activity engaged in by the members of the two groups.

That there is some relationship between church attendance and refraining from divorce seems apparent from the information secured. Some will say that this is the influence of the church,

¹Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," American Sociological Review, I (Oct., 1936), 737 ff.

and indeed, it may be. But there is the possibility, also, that the influence of the church is not a direct one, but rather that the people who go to church are those who do not seek divorces. However this may be, answers to three different questions are consistent in showing that there is a relationship. Table 33 gives the figures for church attendance of the two groups before marriage, Table 34 gives the same information for the period of the marriage and Table 35 reveals the facts concerning attendance in Sunday School and the time when each group ceased attending. The most interesting figures here are those that reveal 78 of the 377 in the Divorced group who gave the information who never went to Sunday School, while the comparative figure for the Control group is only seven and at the other extreme 84 of the 321 who answered the question were still attending Sunday School at the time the question was answered, while only 36 of the Divorced group were still attending.

TABLE 33

CHURCH ATTENDANCE BEFORE MARRIAGE
OF DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS

Attended Church	Divorced Group	Control Group
Not at all.....	51	25
Less than once a month	16	58
Once a month.....	16	27
Twice a month.....	40	21
Three times a month...	33	44
Four times a month....	35	125
Totals.....	191	300

TABLE 34

CHURCH ATTENDANCE DURING MARRIAGE
OF DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS

Attended Church	Divorced Group	Control Group
Not at all	133	48
Less than once a month	92	79
Once a month	16	217

TABLE 34-Continued

Attended Church	Divorced Group	Control Group
Twice a month.....	40	10
Three times a month...	33	12
Four times a month....	35	1
Totals.....	377	321

TABLE 35

COMPARISON OF DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS AS
TO PERIOD OF SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Age at Which Sunday School Attendance Ceased	Divorced Group	Control Group
Never went.....	73	7
Age 10 or younger	72	15
11-14.....	88	53
14-18.....	91	95
19-25.....	17	67
Still going.....	36	84
Totals.....	377	321

The influence of the church, as measured by participation in its activities, seems to be on the side of family solidarity. The tables show conclusively that the Control group attended church services both before and after marriage and remained in attendance at Sunday School in larger proportions than the Divorced group. One peculiarity of the figures, however, is the fact that only one in the Control group attended or attends church as much as four times a month and only twelve and ten respectively attend three times and twice each month. These low figures are compensated for, however, at least somewhat, by the 217 who go, or went, to church during marriage once a month, while the corresponding figure for the Divorced group is 16. Moreover, in the latter group 133 or thirty-five per cent of those answering the question declare that they go to church not

at all, while in the Control group this number is only 48, slightly less than fifteen per cent.

The conclusion to be drawn from the tabulations is that the church is a factor opposing the tendencies toward divorce. The data resulting from the questions answered seem to verify and even make more significant the study of the negative relationship between divorce and church membership in the fifty-four Census Enumeration districts of the City.¹

The question was asked of the two groups whether they had ever wished they had not married, and the differential is symbolic of the domestic discord which is related to divorce. Of the 334 of the Divorced group who answered the question, 263 or 79 per cent said that they frequently or occasionally wished they had never been married, while in the Control group 307 of 348, or 88.2 per cent of the number rarely or never had the wish. The detailed figures are given in Table 36.

TABLE 36
WISHES AS TO THE MARRIAGES OF DIVORCED
AND CONTROL GROUPS CONTRASTED

Wished They Had Not Married	Divorced Group	Control Group
Frequently.....	105	9
Occasionally...	158	32
Rarely.....	27	69
Never.....	44	238
Totals....	334	348

Similarly, in answer to the question, "If you had your life to live over would you marry the same or different person, or would you marry at all?", the Control group has few regrets compared to the Divorced group. The figures are given in Table 37.

¹See Chapter IV.

TABLE 37

DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS COMPARED AS TO WHETHER
THEY WOULD MARRY THE SAME PERSON AGAIN,
A DIFFERENT PERSON OR NOT MARRY AT ALL

If You Had Your Life to Live Over, Would You	Divorced Group	Control Group
Marry the same person...	111	217
Marry a different person	193	10
Not marry.....	94	12
Undecided.....		1
Totals.....	398	240

The important, perhaps the surprising, figure in the foregoing table is the 111 persons of the Divorced group who declare that they would marry the same person again. One possible explanation is that now with both events in the past the divorce rather than the marriage seems to be the mistake. This is implied by many of those who answer the question thus when they state that their marriage would have been successful if some certain condition could have been avoided or error averted. For example, in this group of questionnaires the advice; "don't marry too young" is frequent and "move away from the city where your in-laws live" is typical of another small number.

The reason some of them would marry the same person is that they realize that there was "nothing else to do under the circumstances." Two of those who married for business or financial reasons declare there was nothing else they could have done.

Some of the number would marry the same person again because they were defendants in the divorce suit and were opposed to the severing of the marriage relations and in one case there had been "no good reason" for the divorce, though it had been granted on grounds of desertion. A reconciliation seemed to be desired by both persons involved, and this was actually brought about later by the young man, a college senior, who studied the case.

The question in regard to the reasons for marrying was

asked thus: "Check which of the following were your two main reasons for marrying: to please parents, to escape your family, for money, for business reasons, social reasons, loneliness, to have a home, romantic love, in order to give name to child, to improve health, other....." As is to be expected, perhaps, the largest number in each group answers that the cause for marriage was romantic love, 300 of the total tabulation of 576 in the Divorced group and 226 of the 466 total in the Control group listing this cause as one of the two main reasons for marrying. The tabulation of the reasons given is shown in Table 38. The differential factor may be more difficult to locate here than in most of the tabulations given, but it may be also that there is some significance in the comparatively large numbers in the Divorced group giving the first three causes in the list as their reason for marrying. In three other items there is quite a large difference between the figures for the two groups, viz., "to give name to child," "loneliness," and "to have a home."

TABLE 38
DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS COMPARED AS
TO REASONS FOR THEIR MARRIAGES

Reasons	Divorced Group	Control Group
To please parents....	11	0
Escape family.....	26	13
Money.....	17	0
Business reasons....	3	5
Romantic love.....	300	226
To give name to child	26	4
To have children.....	2	3
Social custom.....	25	26
Loneliness.....	113	25
To have a home.....	53	164
Totals.....	576	466

As was pointed out earlier in this treatise the divorce rates are higher in the urban centers than they are in the rural areas.¹ It is not surprising to find, therefore, a slight differential of city origin in the Divorced group as compared with the

¹Page 7.

Control group. This difference is not large, but still probably large enough to be significant. Of the 325 in the Divorced group who answered the question, 195 or 59.45 per cent spent their childhood in a city, whereas of a larger number who answered the question in the Control group, 348, only 167 or 48.56 per cent spent their childhood in urban surroundings. The number of those who spent their childhood in a small town or in the country are larger, on the contrary, in the Control group. The complete results of the answers to the question are given in Table 39.

TABLE 39

COMPARISON OF DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS
AS TO WHETHER CHILDHOOD WAS SPENT
IN CITY, SMALL TOWN OR COUNTRY

	Divorced Group	Control Group
City.....	195	167
Small Town.....	103	131
Country.....	27	50
Totals.....	325	348*

*The difference between the proportion of city people in the Divorced and Control groups is 3.2 times its standard error; hence significant.

In answer to the question, "were you given instructions concerning married life before your marriage," 79 of the Divorced group answered "yes" while 131 of the Control group were given such instructions. Conversely, 290 of the Divorced group declared they had had no teaching in regard to marriage relations whereas the corresponding number in the Control group was 218. The difference in the latter figures probably is not large enough to be significant. There is too much chance for error in all the figures, so that care is to be exercised in drawing conclusions, especially when the difference between the figures is not large. There are some, however, who will see in these facts an important differential factor, but perhaps most significant is the preponderant number in each group who lacked any instruction upon the assumption of such an important relationship.

The question concerning sex instruction was stated thus: "Sex instruction: by whom: mother, father, teacher, books, magazines, friend, gang, friends." There were 576 answers given by the Divorced group and 439 in the Control group indicating that some had received instruction from more than one source. The important differences in the answers of the two groups on this question lies in the preponderance of those in the Control group who had received instruction on the subject from their mothers, the difference on this point being 2.92 times the standard error, and in the comparative preponderance of those in the Divorced group who had received their sex instruction from a "gang." The difference is 3.46 times the standard error, showing a definite significance in the variations between the two groups on these points. The tabulation of answers is given in Table 40.

TABLE 40
DIVORCED AND CONTROL GROUPS COMPARED
AS TO SOURCE OF SEX INSTRUCTION

Sex Instruction Given by	Divorced Group	Control Group
Mother.....	121	138
Father.....	49	44
Other relative.....	5	20
Teacher.....	7	14
Books.....	70	87
Magazines.....	38	14
Friend or Friends.....	170	103
Gang.....	116	19
Totals.....	576	439

There was employed in the questionnaire a cross reference checking device which was intended to allow the completest and easiest expression of the condition which existed in the relationship between the wife and husband with reference to nine pertinent items. These were the handling of family finances, matters of recreation, religious matters, the question of demonstration of affection, friends, table manners, relatives, the question of the care of the babies, and ways of dealing with the in-laws. On each of these items the person answering could check any one of

six possibilities from "always agreed" to "always disagreed" with four intermediate degrees of agreement or disagreement.¹ The most striking results obtained are recorded in the two extreme columns. The Divorced group declared that they agreed always on all the items only 664 times, while the corresponding number for the Control group is 1392. The contrast in the figures would be even more apparent if the Divorced group had not agreed so generally on the one item of table manners. In fact, in this single item there is practically no differential factor at all since 176 of the Control group always agreed and in the Divorced group the number who always agreed was 175.

In this same item, however, the number who disagreed always, was 33 in the Divorced group, while the corresponding number for the Control group was only 4. All the other items show a much greater variance between the two groups as a study of the figures in the two succeeding tables will reveal.

Our Divorced group was asked to state the legal grounds for the divorces granted to them and also to give the real reasons for the separation. Table 43 reveals the contrasts of the two groups of answers. First let it be noted that of the 410 persons in the Divorced group the total of legal causes given is 478, the reason being that some of them, because of faulty memories doubtless, reported their divorces received for more than one legal reason. Let it be noted further that the legal causes were stated in thirteen different ways while there are only nine legal grounds for divorce in Illinois. The language of the answers has been maintained in the table, however, whether there was merely an underlining of a suggested word in the questionnaire or whether the person questioned answered by self-chosen words.

The 410 divorced persons who answered questionnaires named an average of 2.5 real causes for their divorces which accounts for the total of 1,025 answers.

¹See Appendices XI, XII.

TABLE 41

NUMBER OF THOSE IN DIVORCED GROUP WHO AGREED AND
DISAGREED ON EACH OF NINE ITEMS

Check Once for Each Item Below	Always Agreed	Almost Always Agreed	Occa- sion- ally Dis- agreed	Fre- quently Dis- agreed	Almost Always Dis- agreed	Always Dis- agreed	Total
Handling family finances..	48	56	73	65	48	118	408
Matters of recreation	49	50	76	66	67	102	410
Religious matters...	99	53	52	55	48	92	399
Demonstra- tion of affection.	47	77	80	82	60	59	405
Friends...	51	59	71	79	68	79	407
Relations*	71	56	76	75	61	67	406
Caring for baby...	61	59	45	41	36	55	297
Table manners...	175	72	57	47	23	33	406
Ways of dealing with in-laws...	63	43	33	25	52	206	403
Totals..	664	525	563	535	443	811	3541

*Meaning "kin."

TABLE 42

NUMBER OF THOSE IN CONTROL GROUP WHO AGREED AND
DISAGREED ON EACH OF NINE ITEMS

Check Once for Each Item Below	Always Agreed	Almost Always Agreed	Occa- sion- ally Dis- agreed	Fre- quently Dis- agreed	Almost Always Dis- agreed	Always Dis- agreed	Total
Handling family finances..	158	126	59	14	4	4	365
Matters of recreation	117	163	63	6	0	4	353
Religious matters...	206	90	42	10	1	4	352
Demonstra- tion of affection.	157	137	40	5	1	6	346
Friends...	145	124	65	9	2	5	350
Relations.	141	125	52	18	5	2	343
Caring for baby...	145	80	28	5	3	5	266
Table manners...	176	120	19	2	2	4	323
Ways of dealing with in-laws...	147	108	53	11	2	7	328
Totals.	1392	1072	421	80	20	41	3026

CHART 3

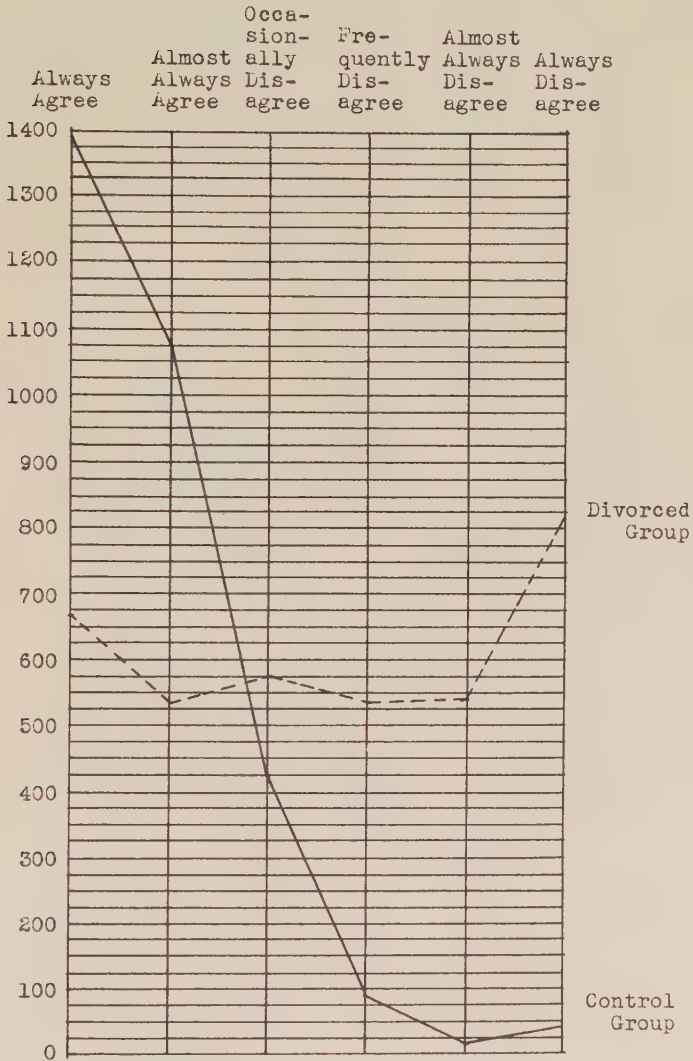
COMPARATIVE SCORING OF NINE ITEMS BY DIVORCED
AND CONTROL GROUPS

CHART 4

SCORING ON EACH OF NINE ITEMS BY THE DIVORCED GROUP

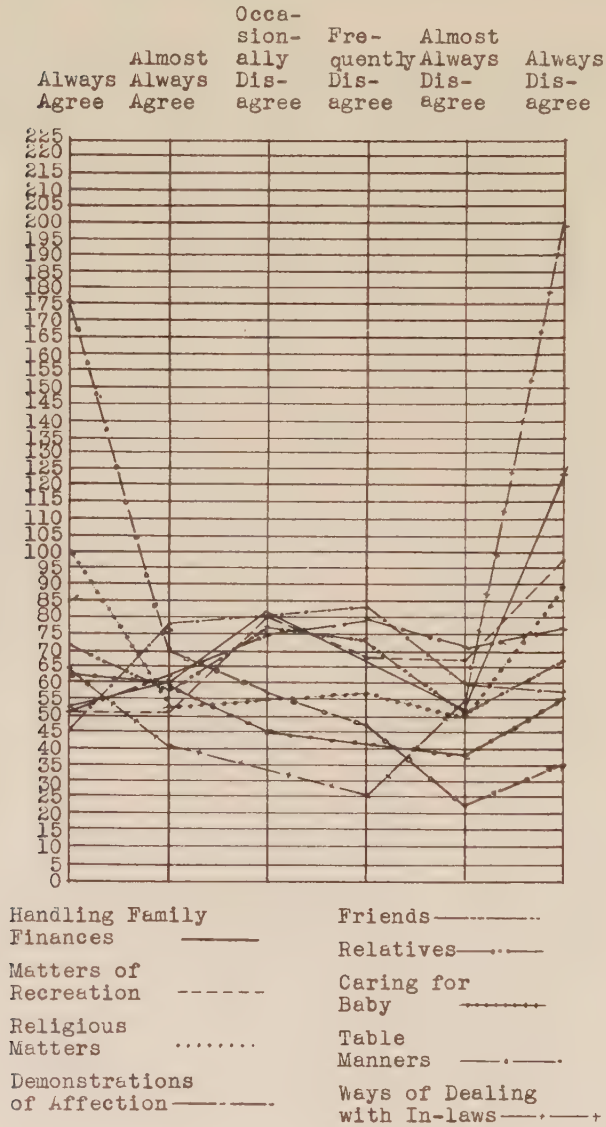
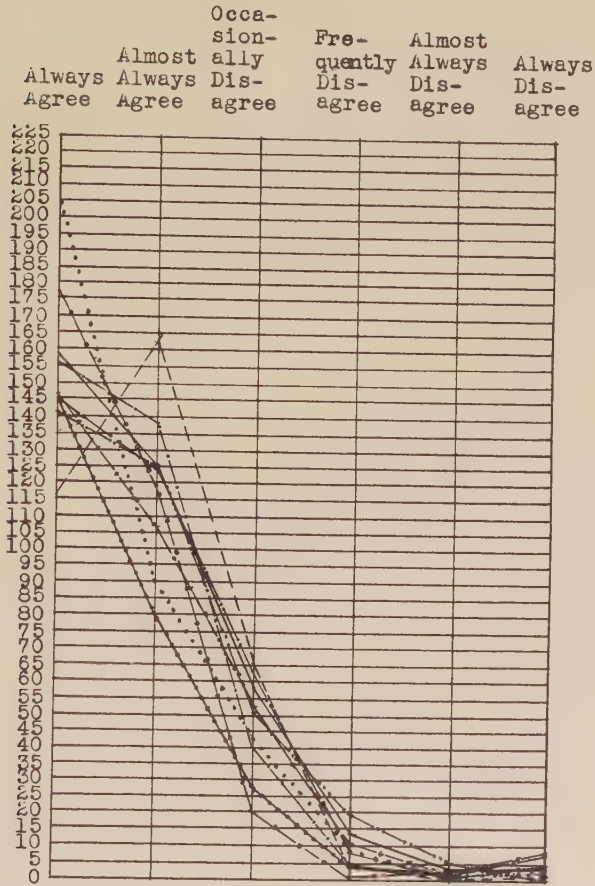


CHART 5

SCORING ON EACH OF NINE ITEMS BY THE CONTROL GROUP



Handling Family
Finances ————
Matters of
Recreation ————
Religious
Matters
Demonstrations
of Affection ————

Friends ————
Relatives ————
Caring for
Baby ————
Table
Manners ————
Ways of Dealing
with In-laws ————

TABLE 43
 CONTRAST OF LEGAL AND REAL REASONS
 FOR DIVORCES OF 410 PERSONS

Statement of Cause	Legal	Real
Cruelty.....	220	191
Non-support.....	59	117
Desertion.....	117	4
Adultery.....	21	0
Veneral disease.....	5	0
Drunkenness.....	20	35
Mental cruelty.....	13	0
Insanity.....	5	1
Incompatibility.....	8	0
Infidelity.....	8	0
General indignities.....	1	0
Alienation of affection.....	1	0
Other woman in case.....	.	78
Other man in case.....	.	58
Sex Difficulty.....	.	36
Relatives.....	.	62
Too frequent child bearing...	.	11
Poverty.....	.	10
Church differences.....	.	19
Loneliness.....	.	26
Personal irritation.....	.	69
Different Tastes.....	.	43
Different interests.....	.	43
Failure to have children.....	.	10
Leceitfulness.....	.	36
Poor housekeeping.....	.	21
Jealousy.....	.	24
Educational differences.....	.	17
Difference over money matters	.	56
Didn't agree.....	.	2
Trouble with in-laws.....	.	2
Political differences.....	.	1
Boarders.....	.	1
Totals.....	478	1,025*

*See paragraphs 36 and 37 in Appendix XIII.

Several points in the preceding table may be commented upon briefly. First, is the fact that cruelty is resorted to legally in somewhat larger proportion of cases than in those where it is a real factor, while non-support is resorted to in only about half the cases in which it is an actual factor. Non-support is not a legal cause for divorce in the State. It is

possible that those who answered the question thus were confusing non-support with desertion. Desertion is the real cause in only four cases while it is given as the legal cause in more than a hundred. Drunkenness is employed as a legal factor in only about one-quarter of the cases where it is a factor, the phraseology of the law in Illinois, "habitual drunkenness for two years," probably being the reason.

It is to be noted that only five of the legal causes for divorce in Illinois were named by the group, while seven which are not legal causes were named. This latter fact is to be accounted for in all probability on the basis of one of two factors; first, confusion of terms, and second, the confusion in the minds of those answering, of the actual causes for marital difficulty with the legal cause, upon which suit for divorce was brought.

Summary

The best source of information for a study of personal factors in divorce is a group of divorced persons. This chapter is a report of the answers of 410 divorced persons who were persuaded to fill out the answers to a questionnaire. These are contrasted and compared with answers to similar questions secured from a Control group. There was an attempt to hold such factors as the proportion of the sexes, occupations, economic status, sections of the City in which they lived, constant for the two groups. While there was no attempt to hold the factor of church membership constant, of those who expressed church preferences 21.43 of the Control group either preferred or were affiliated with the Catholic Church while 19.19 per cent of the Divorced group preferred or belonged to that denomination.

A summary of the principal findings follows:

A larger proportion of the Divorced group was married by a judge or justice of the peace than was true of the Control group and a correspondingly larger proportion of the latter group sought the services of a minister or priest than was true of the former group.

The mean of the ages at which the two groups were married varied only one-half of one percentage point, the Control group

having married slightly later in life.

At the time the divorce was granted, a larger proportion of the Divorced group was neither buying nor contemplating the purchase of a home than was true of the Control group.

More than a quarter of the Divorced group had parents who were divorced while this was true of less than ten per cent of the Control group.

The Control group had on the average completed approximately two more years of schooling than had the Divorced group.

While it is difficult to find any significance in the differences between the two groups as to the subjects of their interests, a larger proportion of the Control group declared that "some" or "all" of their interests were the same as those of husband or wife, while a larger proportion of the Divorced group said few or none of their interests were the same as those of spouse.

A larger proportion of the Control group not only belonged to Church but also participated in its program than was true of the Divorced group.

As would be expected, a large proportion of the Control group said if they had their lives to live over they would marry the same person. While they composed only twenty-eight per cent of those who answered the question and the corresponding proportion in the Control group was more than ninety per cent, it still remains a surprising fact. The larger proportion of them seemed to have reached the conclusion that the divorce was a greater mistake than the marriage.

While there is probably not a large enough difference to be significant, a slightly larger proportion of the Divorced group had spent their childhood years in a city, while a correspondingly larger proportion of the Control group spent their childhood in a small town or in the country.

A larger proportion of the Divorced group had received their knowledge of sex from friends or their gang than was true of the Control group, while a larger proportion of the latter group had secured their information on the subject from books or parents.

Each person answering the questionnaire was asked whether he or she always agreed, almost always agreed, or occasionally, frequently, almost always or always disagreed with husband or wife on each of a series of nine items. These items were, the handling of family finances, matters of recreation, religious matters, demonstrations of affection, friends, relations (kin), caring for the baby, table manners, or ways of dealing with in-laws. In general the Control group leaned heavily in the tabulations over to the side toward "always agreed," while the Divorced group tended as heavily toward "always disagreed." Charts 4, 5, and 6 show graphically the differences in the two groups on each of the items as well as a confirmation of all the items.

Finally, with a question that involved only the Divorced group, a comparison between the real and legal cause or causes for divorce was secured. It probably is not surprising that the list of real causes more than doubles the list of legal reasons given.

The complete picture of divorce in a community involves both community and personal factors. Between these two sets of factors there is present a continuous and complex inter-actional process. Chapter IV of this study is made up of a detailed study of the community factors and their relationship with divorce. The present chapter has attempted a study of the personal factors by means of aid given by more than four hundred divorced persons.

CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVORCE

There remain to be discussed briefly several factors which may have a bearing on the divorce situation in Peoria. One question which any person or couple, contemplating divorce, would be compelled to deal with would be the question of rewards or penalties which would result. The two major types of reward and penalty would be the questions of occupational and social status. It is clear that divorces are resorted to in urban areas much more frequently than in rural, both in the actual number of cases as well as in the relative number of cases. Perhaps the major cause for this fact lies in the condition which results in a much less severe penalty devolving upon the person who resorts to divorce in the urban community as compared with the penalty which will inevitably be visited upon the resident of the rural community.

In the fall of 1936 the writer attempted to study the attitudes of the students of the three upper classes in Bradley Institute toward divorce, with special reference to whether those whose homes were in rural areas and in small towns would reveal differences in sentiment from those whose homes were in Peoria. A simple questionnaire was prepared and on a given day there were separate assemblies for the men and women of the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. It was thought best that freshmen be excluded. A colleague of the writer, Dr. Olive White, whose interest in social questions is well recognized both by her colleagues and by the students, presented the question to the women. The present writer presented the matter to the men. In both assemblies the general nature of this entire study was explained and the cooperation of the students was sought. They were asked to underline one of the following words which most nearly expressed the attitude of each toward divorce: trifling, not serious, unimportant, unfortunate, important, alarming, disastrous. The students were also asked to state whether, if they were em-

employers, they would employ divorced persons without discrimination, whether they would not employ them at all, or whether they would employ them only in certain circumstances. The other question was whether a divorced person would be accepted in their social group. The "social group" was defined for them verbally as meaning such a group as their fraternity or sorority, or lacking membership in these organizations, any comparable organization to which they did or might belong.

Tables 44 and 45 give the statistical results of their answers.

TABLE 44

ATTITUDES OF SOPHOMORE, JUNIOR, AND SENIOR WOMEN IN BRADLEY INSTITUTE TOWARD DIVORCE. STUDENTS CLASSIFIED AS TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN PEORIA OR SMALL TOWN

Attitude towards Divorce	Peoria	Percentage	Rural or Small Town	Percentage
Trifling.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not Serious.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unimportant.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unfortunate.....	47	37.30	11	8.73
Important.....	31	24.60	10	7.94
Alarming.....	4	3.17	1	.79
Disastrous.....	17	13.49	5	3.97
Totals.....	99	78.56	27	21.43
Would not employ divorced persons	0	.00	1	.81
Would employ them.....	41	33.06	14	11.29
Would employ them provisionally.....	57	45.97	11	8.87
Totals.....	98	79.03	26	29.97
Divorced persons would be accepted in social group.....	49	39.52	13	10.48
They would not be accepted.....	49	39.52	13	10.48
Totals.....	98	79.04	26	20.96

TABLE 45

ATTITUDES OF SOPHOMORE, JUNIOR, AND SENIOR MEN IN BRADLEY
INSTITUTE TOWARD DIVORCE. STUDENTS CLASSIFIED AS TO
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN PEORIA OR SMALL TOWN

Attitude to- wards Divorce	Peoria	Percentage	Rural or Small Town	Percentage
Trifling.....	4	2.04	0	.00
Not Serious.....	5	2.55	0	.00
Unimportant.....	0	.00	1	.59
Unfortunate.....	59	30.10	36	18.37
Important.....	23	11.73	20	10.20
Alarming.....	6	3.06	6	3.06
Disastrous.....	<u>21</u>	<u>10.71</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6.63</u>
Totals.....	118	69.19	78	38.85
Would not employ divorced persons	2	1.00	3	1.50
Would employ them.....	73	36.50	41	20.50
Would employ them provis- ionally.....	<u>43</u>	<u>21.50</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>19.00</u>
Totals.....	98	59.00	118	41.00
Divorced persons would be accept- ed in social group.....	87	45.55	47	24.61
They would not be accepted.....	<u>23</u>	<u>12.04</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>17.80</u>
Totals.....	98	57.59	110	42.41

No conclusions can be drawn from the answers of the women alone. The reasons are two: first, the number is smaller than the number of men, and second, the numbers among them who came from a rural section or small town are very small. It would seem, however, from the limited number of answers given that there is no great difference between the two groups as to the seriousness with which divorce as a problem is conceived.

A glance at the figures of the answers of the men, however, reveals unmistakably that those whose background is rural conceive of divorce as a more serious problem than those whose homes are and have been in Peoria. This fact is most apparent, (though the other figures reveal the same tendency), in the answers to the questions concerning the acceptance of divorced persons in the social group. Thirty-four of the eighty-one men with rural background answer that divorced persons would not be accepted in their group while only twenty-three of 110 Peoria men assert a similar non-acceptance.

It should be noted, further, that divorce seems a more serious problem to the women among the students than it seems to the men.

The same questions as outlined above were asked of the members of the Ministerial Association of the city. This association has as members the ministers of Protestant churches of the community except Lutherans. This group takes the question of divorce more seriously than either the men or the women of the student group. Thirteen of the thirty-five answering the question underscored the word "disastrous" as a statement of their attitude, twelve considered the problem "alarming," eight thought it "important," and two of the group thought it was "Unfortunate." None of them considered the question unimportant, not serious, or trifling.

As to the question of employment, one minister declared he would employ a divorced person under no circumstances, twenty-eight would employ them under certain circumstances and seven would employ them unconditionally.

A majority of the ministers said divorced persons would not be accepted in their social group, twenty-one of the thirty-eight answering the question in this fashion, while seventeen considered them acceptable.

Three additional questions were asked of the ministerial group.¹ The first of these inquired of the minister as to whether he engaged in the practice of marrying divorced persons and if

¹For copy of the schedule of questions asked of the students and ministers, see Appendix XIII. The students were asked to answer only the first five questions.

so, whether there was a deviation from his regular marriage procedure. Twenty-one of the group said they did or would marry divorced persons but twelve of this number said it was or would be done under restrictions. Nine of the latter group of twelve said they would marry divorced persons only under circumstances, satisfying themselves as to the circumstances by "inquiry" or "personal knowledge of the case." Three said they would marry divorced persons only upon satisfying themselves that those seeking marriage were not the "guilty parties" to divorce. An additional four of this group declared that when they marry divorced persons the procedure is different from that employed in the usual ceremony.

Fourteen said they would not marry divorced persons, one of this number putting in the qualification, "unless I have had personal experience with those concerned."

The seventh question of the schedule dealt with the subject of procedure in the usual marriage. Eight declared that they give each couple married by them a book or pamphlet, while a larger number, twenty-three, have a conference with them "to impress them with the importance and permanency of marriage," while six do nothing of this nature. Three of the group said they both have a conference and give reading material.

The figures are inconclusive as to whether the ministers believe that divorced persons who come to them to be married have been divorced in Peoria or elsewhere, sixteen saying they have no information nor impression. Six say a majority of those who come to them for re-marriage have received their divorces in Peoria while nine believe that a majority have received them elsewhere.

In a further attempt to discover if there is a difference in attitude toward divorce in a small town as compared with attitudes in Peoria, the writer supervised a study made by one of his senior college students. Miss Mildred Gilmore is a member of a family whose residence has been in a small town in Christian County, Illinois, during the whole of her life. During this entire period the family have held membership in the Baptist Church and have been interested in its activities. Since beginning her college work, Miss Gilmore has been interested particularly in

the young peoples' work of the First Baptist Church of Peoria. Her own interest in divorce has centered on the question of the relationship between the problem and the possible influence upon it of religious practices and attitudes.

A questionnaire similar to the one employed in the study of the attitudes of college students was prepared and by means of personal solicitation she secured answers to her questions from thirty-five young persons in each of the churches--First Baptist in Peoria and the Baptist Church in the town with a population of fourteen hundred. They were members of the Baptist Young Peoples' Union in the respective churches.

The difference in attitude of the two selected groups is at once apparent in the way they characterize divorce. No one in either group thought it trifling, lacking in seriousness, or unimportant. But the degree of seriousness with which they view the question is apparent from Table 46.

TABLE 46

COMPARATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD DIVORCE OF TWO GROUPS OF
YOUNG PEOPLE, ONE RURAL, ONE A PEORIA GROUP--MEMBERS
OF BAPTIST YOUNG PEOPLES' UNION

Attitude toward Divorce	City Group	Rural Group
Important.....	17	9
Unfortunate.....	13	3
Alarming.....	2	11
Disastrous.....	3	12

In answer to the question concerning employment of divorced persons, while the contrast in sentiment is not so marked, the same tendency appears. In Table 47 the answers are given.

A wider divergence of sentiment is expressed by the two contrasting groups when asked about the acceptance of divorced persons into their social circles. Twenty-seven of the Peoria group would accept divorced persons into their social organization, while eight would not, and in the rural group the order is reversed, there being only twelve who considered divorced persons acceptable, while twenty-three would not accept them.

TABLE 47

COMPARATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD EMPLOYMENT OF DIVORCED PERSONS OF
CITY AND RURAL MEMBERS OF BAPTIST YOUNG PEOPLES' UNION

	City Group	Rural Group
Would employ divorced persons..	22	16
Would not employ them.....	8	13
Would employ them provisionally	5	6

The questions were asked also of these groups concerning the conditions under which unhappily married persons would be justified in separating or being divorced. Twenty-one of the city group felt that couples without children if unhappy in their marriage were justified in separating, eight thought it satisfactory for them to seek divorces, six insisting that they should make the best of their situation. Fifteen of the rural group declared for separation under the same circumstances and only two thought a divorce justifiable while twenty-three thought that neither should be resorted to. When the conditions were changed to couples with children there was a tendency for each to feel that the best of the situation should be made, but the rural group was much surer of its ground in point of numbers, the score being twenty-eight for the rural group to sixteen for the city group. Table 43 gives the figures in detail of the answers to these two questions.

TABLE 48

ATTITUDES OF RURAL AND CITY GROUPS AS TO WHETHER MARRIED
COUPLES WITH AND WITHOUT CHILDREN SHOULD RESORT TO
SEPARATION OR DIVORCE OR RESORT TO NEITHER (1936)

	City Group		Rural Group	
	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children
Should separate.....	13	21	5	15
Should be divorced....	6	8	2	2
Should make best of it	16	6	28	23

Twenty-four of the rural group said they would hesitate, defer, or refuse to get a divorce even if they were in a situation where divorce seemed desirable, because of the attitude of friends or others. The city group, as a matter of comparison, were non-committal on this point, only four saying they would hesitate or defer divorce proceedings.

Three questions were asked which might establish factors correlative with the attitude toward divorce. Nineteen of the rural group declared that family devotions were maintained in the home while this number dwindled to six in the city group. Thirty-three of the city group declared that their attitudes toward divorce were shaped by experience and observation, while only two of the rural group had made up their minds because of observation. The latter group was influenced predominantly by the home, the church young peoples' society and study of the Bible, while only a scattering few of the city group named these factors as having influenced them.

The education of the two groups was not greatly different, the major distinction lying in the groups which had reached or completed college, the number being ten in the urban group while only half as many of the rural group had gone so far.

The contrast in attitude of the two groups is very apparent, not only from the tabulated answers to their questions, but also from their reactions when the questionnaire was presented to them. To quote Miss Gilmore's words:

I sensed the general attitude of the rural group at once. They were surprised that I should "stoop" to make this type of study. The Peoria group, on the other hand, were very willing to answer the questions and revealed an interest in the study.

The Newspapers

An important factor in the matter of divorce in any community is the way in which the newspapers handle the publicity. Peoria has two newspaper organizations which publish daily editions and carry general news, one of which publishes a morning as well as an evening edition. Their handling of the news concerning divorce is unobtrusive and modest. The observation of the writer is that it is usually carried on the back page where there

is concentrated a great deal of local news and the head line usually announces the number of divorces granted during the day. A sample of the way this type of news is handled is taken from the Journal, an evening paper, for Wednesday, August 12, 1936. This news item carried a larger heading than is usual for a divorce story due entirely to the unusually large number, eighteen, granted during the day. As a typical example of the way in which this news is presented by the Peoria Press this entire story with its headlines is produced here.

18 DIVORCES AND
ONE ANNULMENT
ARE GRANTED HERE

Eighteen divorces and one annulment were granted in Peoria county circuit court today, the first day in which the court was in session since early summer.

Both Judges John T. Culbertson and Joseph E. Daily presided.

Decrees for divorce were granted to Alice from Emanuel Baker, Evelyn from Fred McCann, Lillian from Martin Landen, Charles from Elsie Fox, Donald P. from Frances Lohr, Leora from Burt Springsten, Florence from Lloyd Sparks, Tillie B. from Charles Collinson, Verlia E. from Marshall Culp, Doris from John C. Seehass, Frieda from Walter Stocking, Eleanor from Donald Puckett, Bertha from Louis Charlton, Edward J. from Doris M. Kearney, Mack from Annie McCabe, Dick from Lillian Raymond, Hazel from Fred Hetzel and Rachel from Ronald Strayer.

Annulment was granted Anna Butts from William H. Henson. Suits were filed yesterday by Frieda M. Newell, mother of 13 children, against Alonzo C. Newell, Dona A. against Thomas C. McCann, city electrical inspector and former chief of police; Addie May against Phillip Jaeger, Leo against Helen Gregor, Ruth against James S. Landis and Elizabeth against Charles Rutledge.

Representatives of the editorial staffs of each of the papers were interviewed to ascertain the policy of the papers and the philosophy upon which the policy of the papers is based. One of the persons interviewed stated the matter in these terms:

We keep such news out of the papers because that is our policy. We have a paper that is not sold extensively on the street but one that goes into the home where the children will have a chance to read it. We just don't think it is right to have young children reading about sex matters involved in a divorce case. No, there is no agreement between the Journal and the Star, the two evening papers, with reference to this matter but we just keep it out anyhow. If our paper was sold on the street and not delivered to the home it would be all right for us to print that stuff, but as the

conditions stand we just can't do it.

This statement is typical and not in disagreement with those made by other newspaper men. One of the men stated very frankly that whenever there was a divorce case that they might wish to print on the first page, it usually involved an important advertiser or member of his family, and newspapers in cities the size of Peoria could not afford to take the chance of losing advertising. A third man interviewed answered the question in this way:

It is only a matter of decency and fairness to a man or woman to keep his or her name out of the eyes of the public under such circumstances. I don't see any sense in printing that "damn" news when there is good important news coming in every day that the public will be interested in. No, there is no set reason for our keeping such news out of the paper, except it seems the decent thing to do.

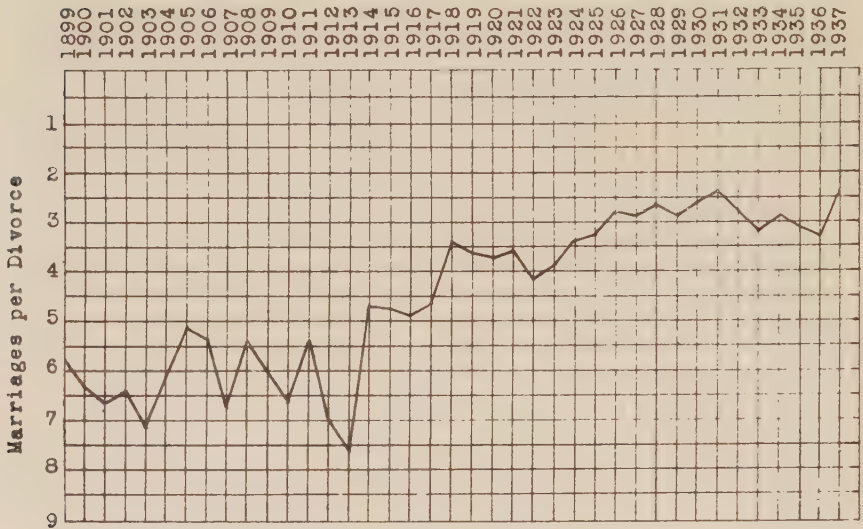
The question has been asked locally as to whether the high divorce rate in Peoria is due to the attitude of one or all of the three judges who preside over the circuit court. Partial answer is to be found in the data already presented. The history of divorce in the city does not reveal a dramatic increase in the rate which may be coordinated with the incumbency of any single judge and, likewise, there is no corresponding decrease which may be explained on these grounds. The ups and downs in the graph showing the divorce rate of the years are probably to be explained on the basis of local or general conditions rather than by the influence of any of the sitting judges. As Dr. Ogburn has remarked, "divorces tend to decline in hard times and increase in good times, although the reason for this correlation has not yet been shown."¹ Chart 6 represents the number of marriages per divorce in Peoria beginning with 1899. Below is the list of judges who heard divorce cases during the period with the years of their incumbency.

One interesting fact is to be noted in addition to the general observations which have been made. The largest increase in rate in a single year is that from 1913 to 1914 when the number of marriages per divorce decreased from 7.67 for the former years to 4.40 in the latter. The year 1913 is the year in which

¹W. F. Ogburn, Recent Social Trends in the United States (New York, 1933) Vol. I, p. 692.

CHART 6

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES PER DIVORCE FOR FLORIDA COUNTY WITH NAMES
OF JUDGES AND YEARS OF THEIR INCUMBENCY



Judge	Years in office
Shaw.....	1899-1900
Worthington.....	1899-1915
Puterbaugh.....	1899-1912
Green.....	1901-1929
Niehaus.....	1913-1933
Stone.....	1916-1918
Grier.....	1918-1919
Miles.....	1920-1925
Daily.....	1926-1935
Ingram.....	1930-1935
Culbertson.....	1934-1935

Judge Niehaus assumed a position on the bench. He has never been considered locally as a liberal in the granting of divorces.

Moreover, he was a devout adherent of the Catholic Church, whose teachings most definitely oppose divorce. The explanation of the large increase in the rate during this year, therefore, is probably to be found in the fact that there had been a dramatic decline in the rate during the two previous years and 1913 saw merely the return to what was more nearly the normal condition. Conversely, Judge Green is the man who had the local reputation of a liberal in the granting of divorce decrees, but the general trend shows no trace of a persistent and dramatic increase in the rate accounted for by his influence.

This conclusion is supported, also, by the fact that the trends in Peoria follow so closely the pattern of the trends in other geographic areas.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The most important contribution of this study has been the discovery of the inverse relation between divorce and economic status. The conclusion that this relationship exists seems to be at variance with those of Ogburn and Cahen. They find no definite association between divorce and poverty.¹ Thorndike in a recent study of 295 cities finds no influence of disparity of incomes on welfare.² This relationship has been easily discoverable, however, in the present study. Perhaps the difference lies in the method of study.

The method employed has been an intensive analysis of Peoria, Illinois, a city of somewhat more than a hundred thousand population. Both case and statistical methods have been used in an attempt to ferret out both the more personal and the community factors in divorce. The employment of the Census Enumeration Districts, units created by the Bureau of the Census, has been found most satisfactory for purposes of analysis and comparison. Some facts for the Districts were obtained from the Bureau of the Census; others were sought out in the community. Here it is that the relation between economic conditions and divorce is most definitely apparent. There is a positive correlation between divorce and relief of .61 and negative correlations between divorce and home ownership, average amount of rent paid, average value of property and average annual income. The figures respectively are: -.53, -.29, -.24, and -.32.

A second important finding of this study has been the relationship between divorce and delinquency. The highest corre-

¹See Alfred Cahen, Statistical Analysis of Divorce (New York, 1932), pp. 54-55. Ogburn's study was a correlation between the amount of manufacturing and divorce in 170 cities. E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships (New York, 1928).

²E. L. Thorndike, "The Influence of Disparity of Incomes on Welfare," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), No. 1, pp. 25 ff.

lation figure in the series is secured when the relationship between these two factors is measured, the result being a positive .69. Similar, though not identical, findings have resulted from other studies. Healy and Bronner found a relationship to exist between "broken homes" and the cases of "young repeated offenders" in Boston and Chicago,¹ though Shaw and McKay thought it doubtful if such a relationship existed, based on their study in certain areas of Chicago.²

In Peoria the figures leave no room for doubt as to the relationship existing between these factors. Not only the high zero correlation figure, but also the results when other factors are held constant, reveal, as well as statistical technique is capable, this persistent relationship. Reference to Table 18 reveals how the high positive correlation figure is maintained when each of the other known factors is held constant. Moreover, it is significant that the correlation figure of .61 between divorce and relief is reduced to .16 when the factor of delinquency is held constant.

Another significant finding of the study is the negative correlation between divorce and church membership. The figure is -.46. The relationships thus established by correlations of the zero order are substantiated and strengthened when other factors are held constant. For example, the negative relationship while lowered slightly in degree when each of the economic factors is held constant, is maintained throughout the series. This fact can be shown most readily in the following table.

Moreover, the relationship between divorce and economic factors is maintained, though again decreased from the original zero correlation, when the church membership factor is held constant. The figure of .61 correlation of the zero order measuring the relationship between divorce and relief is reduced slightly to .51 when church membership is held constant. Also,

¹William Healy and August F. Bronner, Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking (New York, 1926).

²Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency, for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime (Washington, 1931), Vol. II, No. 13, p. 266.

the relationship of $-.53$ between divorce and home ownership is reduced to $-.39$ when church membership is held constant.

TABLE 49
CORRELATION BETWEEN DIVORCE, (A), AND TOTAL CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP, (Z), WHEN EACH OF THE ECONOMIC
FACTORS IS HELD CONSTANT

AZ.C	(Relief).....	-.25
AZ.I	(Average Rent).....	-.41
AZ.J	(Average Value).....	-.43
AZ.Z'	(Average Income).....	-.40
AZ.X'	(Home Ownership).....	-.27

The negative relation between church membership and divorce is apparent, also, from the chapter on the Personal Factors in Divorce. Tables 33, 34, and 35 reveal a definite tendency of the Control group to adhere to the church and Sunday School more persistently and in larger numbers than is true of the Divorced group.¹

Although perhaps not quite so apparent, the relation between divorce and the economic factors as revealed by the correlations is also substantiated by the study of the personal factors. The negative correlation between divorce and home ownership corresponds with the fact that a larger proportion of the Control group were buying or planning to buy a home than was true of the Divorced group. The handling of family finances was an important item causing disagreement in the Divorced group while the testimony of the Control group shows a surprisingly negligible amount of disagreement caused by this factor. How much of this disagreement in the Divorced group is caused by financial difficulties is, of course, a matter of conjecture.

The county in which the city with its population of 104,969² is located has had a consistently high divorce rate throughout the period for which records have been kept. This fact is revealed by comparison of the county with the country as

¹Pages 93 and 94.

²Census of 1930.

a whole, with the state of Illinois, and with Cook County in the same state containing Peoria's metropolitan neighbor, Chicago. Peoria County has a higher divorce rate than any other of the counties in the State.

As a background for the analysis of divorce within the community, the area is described as one basically industrial and some of the more important social characteristics are found to be: (a) slightly more than one quarter of the population in 1930 was either foreign born or native born of foreign or mixed parentage. The large groups in this proportion of the population are from the northern European countries and only a small percentage of the entire group represents recent immigration; (b) illiteracy rate in Peoria is low in comparison with other communities; (c) compared with the country as a whole and with Illinois, Peoria County has a low church membership rate both when the total figures are taken as a basis for comparison and when Catholic and Protestant figures are considered separately.

Ecologically the city divides naturally into Bluff and Valley areas, the calculated divorce rate for the former being 2.07 while that of the latter area is 3.01. The city is divided into ten wards and the divorce rate varies from 1.50 in the fifth ward,¹ to 4.15 in the seventh.²

More important, however, and offering greater opportunities for comparison and detailed analysis is the division of the city into Census Enumeration Districts, fifty-four of which are employed in the study. The basic fact is that the number of divorces granted over a period of time do not fall equally in all parts of the community. The largest number of divorces is sixty-two in District number 45 and the smallest number is the single one granted over a period of forty-eight months in District number 54. The divorce rate, based upon the number of divorces granted in the district in proportion to the population in the age group, twenty-one to forty-four varies from a low of .82 in District 55 to a high of 5.17 in number 69. By means of the correlation techniques divorce is compared with other known

¹This ward lies entirely in the bluff territory.

²Lying entirely in the valley.

factors using the districts as a basis. By means of special arrangements with the Bureau of the Census certain data were secured which had not been published in the reports. Another fruitful source of data was a volume entitled Real Property Inventory and Financial Survey of Urban Housing for Peoria, Illinois.

A summary of the more significant conclusions to be drawn from an analysis of factors studied reveals: (a) there is a positive relationship between divorce on the one hand and delinquency, relief, and a large proportion of males in the population on the other; (b) there is a negative relationship between divorce on the one hand and the factors of church membership, high incomes, high property values, high rents paid, and the ownership of homes.

These relationships are apparent not only from correlations of the zero order, but also from correlations when other factors are held constant.

Moreover, the conclusions are strengthened by a series of "case" studies of those districts which, with reference to one or more of the factors studied, fall outside the expected probability curve. That is, if a district has low divorce and delinquency rates and is surrounded by districts with high rates, that district becomes the subject of special analysis. These "case" studies corroborate in general the conclusions drawn from the statistical analysis.

Personal factors in divorce are studied by means of two methods: first, by means of a comparison between the legal and the social causes for divorce, the former as secured from the legal record and the latter from a personal statement as to the real factors back of the marital difficulties leading to the divorce action; second, each of some four hundred divorced persons answered a questionnaire submitted to them. A complete list of the questions asked is presented in Appendix XIII of this study. In order to secure a basis for comparison, similar or identical questions were submitted to a control group numbering, also, about four hundred.

Some of the conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of these answered questions are: (a) a larger proportion of the Divorced group was married by a justice of the peace than was

true of the Control group and a larger proportion of the latter was married by a minister or priest; (b) there was a slight variation in the average of the ages at which the two groups were married, the Control group having married slightly later in life than did those in the Divorced group; (c) the Control group had completed 2.14 more years of schooling on the average than had the divorced group; (d) there was a smaller proportion of the Divorced group whose interests were entirely or in part the same as those of the husband or wife than was true of the Control group, while a smaller proportion of the latter group had few or no interests identical with those of the spouse; (e) as measured by attendance at both church and Sunday School the Control group revealed a greater degree of interest in the church and its program than did the Divorced group; (f) a larger proportion of the Divorced group had received instruction regarding sex questions from friends or their "gang" than was true of the Control group, and a larger percentage of the latter received their instruction in the subject from parents, relatives or from books; (g) on a scale that represents a continuum from the extremes of "always agree" to "always disagree" the two groups were asked to check the degree of agreement with reference to each of nine items. Chart 3 shows on the basis of a summary of all the items checked the tendency of the Control group to always or almost always agree while a much larger proportion of the divorced group tended to almost always or always disagree.

Inquiry was made as to whether certain attitudes discoverable in the community might contribute to an explanation of the comparatively high divorce rate which existed as the study was made and had been maintained over a period of a number of years. Classes of students in Bradley Polytechnic Institute were asked to state whether they considered divorce trifling, not serious, unimportant, important, alarming or disastrous. Answers were checked against information as to whether these students had been reared in Peoria or another metropolitan area or in a rural community or small town. In general the result revealed that those students whose backgrounds were rural or small town thought of divorce as a more serious problem than those who had spent most of their lives in Peoria or other metropolitan regions.

A study of two young peoples' organizations of the

Baptist Church, one in Peoria, the other in a small town, also reveals the young people of the rural area consider divorce as the more serious problem.

Thus there is some evidence in the present study that attitudes usually found in Peoria differ from those generally held by those in small towns and in rural regions on the subject of divorce. While evidence is not sufficient in quantity for a definite conclusion, still there is reason to believe that resort to divorce in Peoria is much less shocking, if indeed there is any shock at all, and the social and economic penalties much less severe than in smaller towns or rural regions.

It is possible that the Peoria newspapers contribute to the attitude toward divorce due to the fact that there is a policy of giving only casual notice to the divorces granted.

Finally, the trends in the granting of divorces in Peoria seem to be quite independent of the personnel of those who preside over the courts exercising jurisdiction in the matter. This conclusion is reached on the basis of a study of divorce trends in the community over a period of years coordinated with the incumbency of the judges granting the divorces.

A general conclusion seems warranted, namely, a group of factors operate in the community to produce a high divorce rate and the same factors operate to produce high divorce rates in certain parts of the community. Conversely, the factors which tend to hold the divorce rate down in the sub-divisions of a community are probably those which tend to hold it down in the community as a whole.

Not one, but a combination of several, or all, of these factors outlined give the clue to an understanding of divorce as an important social phenomenon in Peoria, Illinois.

The conclusions that there is an inverse relation between divorce and the economic factors, (except relief where a positive relationship exists), complicated by the positive relation between divorce and delinquency and the inverse relation between divorce and church membership, seem to verify the findings of some studies while they are at variance from others.

Interesting, and the writer dares to hope, significant, would be detailed studies of other communities. One hypothesis

that would be tested by such further studies is that certain selective factors are operative inside a given community that may not be apparent, when communities are compared. The differing conclusions of the lack of any significant relation between family income and "the goodness of life for good people,"¹ and one which is inevitable from this study that such a significant relationship does exist can and should be resolved. Moreover, by means of such further studies a more definite answer to the question of inherent human qualities versus the importance of social conditions under which people live may have a more nearly complete answer.

¹E. L. Thorndike, "The Influence of Disparity of Incomes on Welfare," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), No. 1, p. 25.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES FOR THE UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS,
COOK AND PEORIA COUNTIES FOR YEARS 1897 TO 1937

Year	Marriages U. S.	Divorces U. S.	Marriages Ill.	Divorces Ill.
1937	.....	.....	.....	.....
1936	.....	.....	.....	.....
1935	.....	.....	.....	.....
1934	.....	.....	.....	.....
1933	.....	.....	.....	.....
1932	981,903	160,338	65,088	11,741
1931	1,060,914	183,664	71,636	13,893
1930	1,126,856	191,591	75,961	15,432
1929	1,232,559	201,468	84,092	15,758
1928	1,182,497	195,939	79,725	15,703
1927	1,201,053	192,037	80,222	14,984
1926	1,202,574	180,853	82,529	14,125
1925	1,188,334	175,449	79,964	13,822
1924	1,184,574	170,952	81,918	13,658
1923	1,229,784	165,096	84,068	12,317
1922	1,134,151	148,814	75,208	11,057
1921	1,163,863	159,580	.....	.....
1920	1,274,476	170,505	.....	.....
1919	1,150,186	141,527	.....	.....
1918	1,000,109	116,254	.....	.....
1917	1,144,200	121,564	.....	.....
1916	1,040,684	112,036	78,529	8,546
1915	1,007,595	104,298	.....	.....
1914	1,025,092	100,584	.....	.....
1913	1,021,398	91,307	.....	.....
1912	1,004,602	94,318	.....	.....
1911	955,287	89,219	.....	.....
1910	948,166	83,045	.....	.....
1909	897,354	79,671	.....	.....
1908	857,461	76,852	.....	.....
1907	936,936	76,571	.....	.....
1906	853,290	72,062	53,717	5,943
1905	804,787	67,976	52,798	5,715
1904	781,145	66,199	51,594	5,592
1903	786,132	64,925	52,745	5,653
1902	746,733	61,480	49,703	5,393
1901	716,621	60,984	47,212	5,252
1900	685,284	55,751	44,552	4,698
1899	650,610	51,437	43,162	4,666
1898	625,655	47,849	39,663	4,176
1897	622,350	44,699	37,875	3,893

APPENDIX I-Continued

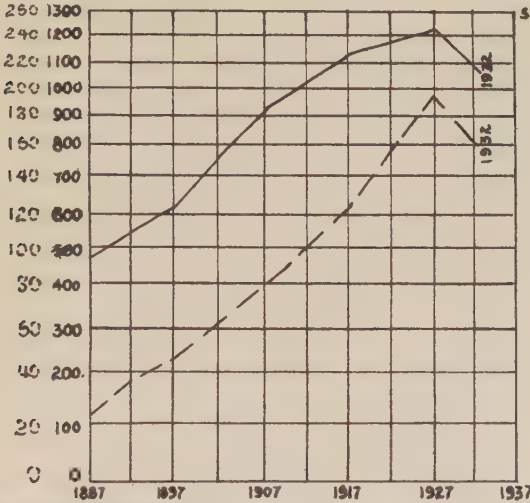
Year	Marriages Chicago	Divorces Chicago	Marriages Peoria	Divorces Peoria
1937	.....	.....	1587	724
1936	.....	.....	2255	724
1935	.....	.....	1863	561
1934	.....	.....	1787	640
1933	.....	.....	1305	405
1932	25,271	6,592	1123	399
1931	30,493	7,958	1178	484
1930	35,401	9,188	1465	577
1929	41,066	9,443	1557	518
1928	37,566	9,385	1434	532
1927	38,823	8,810	1428	485
1926	40,316	8,365	1456	514
1925	38,767	8,128	1540	456
1924	39,943	8,165	1569	521
1923	41,824	7,032	1694	428
1922	38,094	6,536	1546	369
1921	.....	.....	1464	406
1920	.....	.....	1949	549
1919	.....	.....	1711	495
1918	.....	.....	1266	402
1917	.....	.....	1508	344
1916	34,235	4,575	1371	284
1915	.....	.....	1242	288
1914	.....	.....	1233	280
1913	.....	.....	1290	168
1912	.....	.....	1319	198
1911	.....	.....	1206	233
1910	.....	.....	1032	166
1909	.....	.....	1057	158
1908	.....	.....	986	186
1907	.....	.....	1037	149
1906	23,011	2,846	849	177
1905	21,566	2,650	998	203
1904	20,047	2,473	992	169
1903	21,068	2,419	1059	148
1902	19,224	2,390	956	163
1901	17,593	2,265	935	141
1900	16,669	2,053	843	143
1899	16,163	2,011	814	150
1898	14,147	1,768	727	117
1897	13,164	1,526	782	116

APPENDIX II

FLUCTUATION OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN THE UNITED STATES
AND ILLINOIS FROM 1887 TO 1937Dashed Numbers & Lines
Represent DivorcesFull Numbers & Lines
Represent Marriages

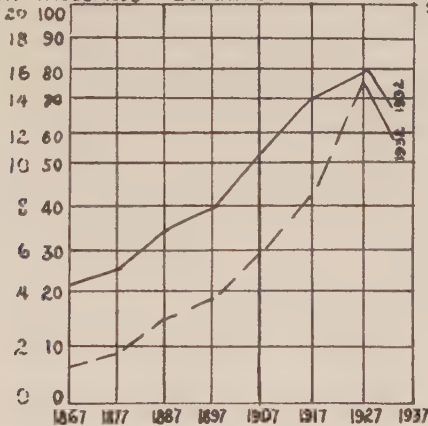
The United States

FIGS. REPRESENT THOUSANDS

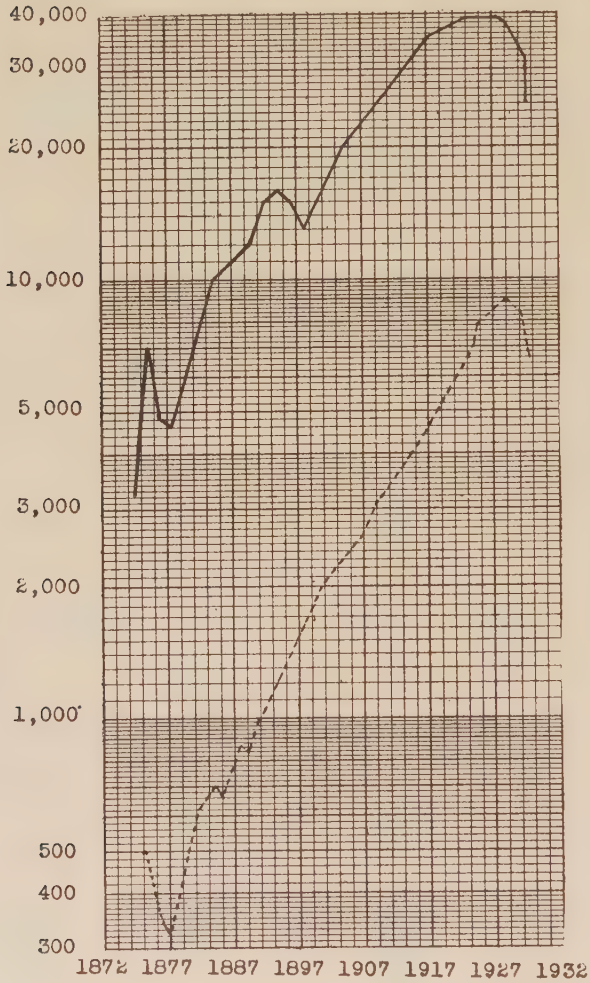
DRAWN
SEMI-LOGARITHMIC
SCALE

FIGS. REPRESENT THOUSANDS

Illinois

DRAWN
SEMI-LOGARITHMIC
SCALE

APPENDIX III

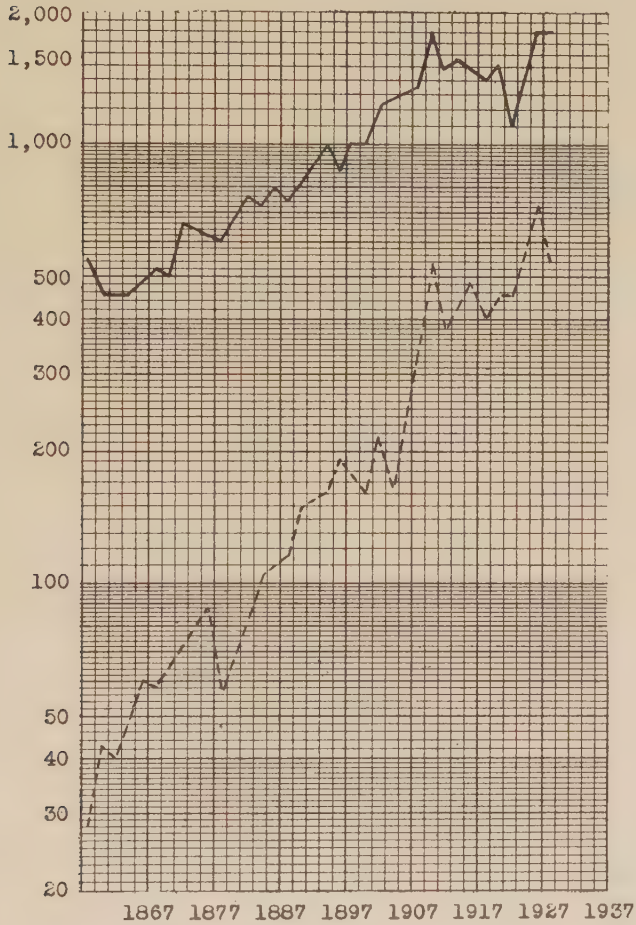
FLUCTUATION OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES
IN COOK COUNTY 1872 TO 1932Dashed Line
Represents DivorcesFull Line
Represents Marriages

APPENDIX IV

FLUCTUATION OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES
IN PEORIA COUNTY 1867 TO 1937

Dashed Line
Represents Divorces

Full Line
Represents Marriages



APPENDIX V

DATA OF THE TWENTY-TWO ILLINOIS COUNTIES IN WHICH ARE TO BE FOUND THE PRINCIPAL
CITIES OF THE STATE FROM WHICH COMPARISONS ARE DRAWN IN THE TEXT

County	Total Population	City or Cities	Population	Divorces	Total Married Population	Divorces Per 1000 Married Population	Marriages	Marriages Per Divorce
Peoria	141,539	Peoria	104,969	577	63,824	9.04	1,465	2.54
Alexander	22,543	Cairo	13,532	79	9,996	7.90	280	3.54
Madison	143,132	Alton	20,348	425	65,335	6.49	2,350	5.52
Sangamon	111,800	Edwardsville	6,235					
St. Clair	157,388	Springfield	71,864	318	50,164	6.33	1,156	3.63
Champaign	64,243	E. St. Louis	74,347	441	72,406	6.09	2,293	5.10
Winnebago	117,373	Champaign	20,348	110	18,882	5.83	517	4.70
Jefferson	31,008	Rockford	85,864	281	55,071	5.28	1,752	6.02
Knox	51,188	Mt. Vernon	12,375	74	14,599	5.06	340	4.59
Lake	103,397	Galesburg	28,830	111	24,126	4.60	394	3.55
Kane	125,248	Waukegan	33,499	199	45,323	4.39	4,779	24.01
Rock Island	98,181	Aurora	46,589	243	56,269	4.31	1,272	5.23
		Moline	32,236	203	47,170	4.30	927	4.56
		Rock Island	37,953					
Macoupin	81,674	Decatur	57,510	158	38,876	4.06	680	4.17
Vermillion	90,225	Danville	36,765	152	40,133	3.78	777	5.1118
Tazewell	46,019	Pekin	16,129	72	20,412	3.51	368	5.1111
Adams	62,766	Quincy	29,241	100	28,717	3.48	443	4.43
LaSalle	97,696	LaSalle	13,149	131	40,771	3.21	679	5.18
		Peru	9,121					
Stephenson	40,044	Freeport	22,045	59	18,410	3.20	504	8.54
Christian	37,409	Taylorville	7,316	51	16,863	3.02	165	3.23
Will	110,852	Joliet	42,993	135	47,005	2.83	912	6.85
McLean	73,087	Bloomington	30,930	89	32,783	2.71	575	6.46
Kankakee	50,077	Kankakee	20,520	59	22,162	2.66	495	8.38

APPENDIX VI

TWELVE FACTORS IN THE HOUSING OF EIGHTEEN CITIES*

	Per Cent Crowded	Per Cent Rental Units	Per Cent Rental Units under \$20	Per Cent No Con- cessions	Per Cent Heating Stove, Other or No Heat	Per Cent Cold or No Running Water	Per Cent Neither Gas nor Electric Lighting	Per Cent No Indoor Toilet	Per Cent Neither Tub nor Shower	Per Cent Needing Minor Repairs	Per Cent Needing Major Repairs	Per Cent Unfit for Habitation
Peoria..	15.1	49.5	46.5	42.7	27.2	45.0	6.0	27.7	35.9	41.1	15.3	2.7
Decatur..	14.0	56.1	65.5	35.5	23.9	30.8	6.6	19.3	27.1	50.9	17.5	1.8
Atlanta..	29.5	71.9	65.5	28.6	71.1	55.5	29.4	26.2	35.3	43.4	23.2	4.1
Birming- ham.....	30.0	73.2	86.8	71.2	82.6	71.9	33.5	38.2	52.4	49.0	24.7	3.9
Cleve- land....	13.6	61.5	36.1	42.0	25.4	11.0	1.8	4.4	9.2	43.6	12.0	2.4
Dallas..	23.2	65.8	50.6	27.1	96.7	36.0	15.0	22.5	23.8	44.8	15.8	2.6
Des Moines..	23.2	55.0	44.5	34.5	24.5	33.1	4.9	26.8	32.1	45.8	17.2	1.9
Little Rock....	22.8	63.0	33.6	44.9	98.3	45.0	27.5	32.2	35.2	41.4	20.4	4.5
Minne- apolis..	14.0	57.8	33.6	33.4	23.4	26.2	9.1	11.3	16.1	38.9	12.2	1.4
Okla. City....	25.4	63.3	51.5	10.1	92.1	27.3	12.3	29.9	27.2	40.8	14.2	2.3
Portland	8.1	51.9	63.0	30.1	35.6	10.7	2.3	9.9	11.6	45.5	16.0	1.1
Richmond	20.1	63.6	53.7	59.6	64.1	55.6	20.2	35.1	34.6	42.8	16.6	1.8
Sacra- mento...	13.3	54.9	38.0	28.3	77.5	24.8	3.1	15.7	14.5	44.4	15.2	3.4
Salt Lake C..	27.7	51.2	55.1	38.8	53.1	17.6	2.1	17.1	18.2	40.8	18.8	2.6
San Diego...	8.9	61.1	41.3	13.2	92.9	16.1	2.2	6.1	8.6	39.1	11.6	1.5
Seattle..	10.3	55.5	51.5	27.7	38.8	10.2	1.4	10.3	12.5	43.0	17.7	2.4
St. Paul	14.6	51.1	37.5	37.0	26.3	98.7	3.3	13.6	19.0	43.3	15.4	1.7
Wichita..	15.6	59.3	63.8	22.5	57.9	26.6	19.8	22.5	24.6	45.4	20.0	2.1

*Real Property Inventory, 1934 (Washington: Department of Commerce).

APPENDIX VII

BASIC DATA CONCERNING POPULATION FOR THE FIFTY-FOUR
CENSUS DISTRICTS, PEORIA, 1930

District No.	Total Population	Male	Female	White	Negro	Native Wh. of Native Par.	Foreign or Mix. Par.	Foreign-Born White
26	1477	772	705	1457	1	1138	233	86
27	1227	611	616	1220	7	923	248	49
28	859	453	406	859	0	640	175	44
30	1358	635	723	1349	9	938	326	85
31	1518	753	765	1506	12	1099	308	99
32	1696	864	832	1635	32	1143	327	165
33	2149	1024	1125	2146	3	1495	538	1113
34	1122	562	560	1122	0	777	285	60
35	1878	923	955	1875	3	1366	429	80
36	1813	834	979	1811	2	1237	483	37
37	1453	678	775	1449	4	1044	329	76
38	1910	878	1032	1905	5	1359	417	129
39	3114	1378	1736	2976	138	2227	554	195
42	1315	794	521	1298	8	1019	199	80
43	2324	1228	1096	2305	15	1782	409	114
45	3355	1682	1673	3343	11	2552	588	203
46	3530	2198	1332	2302	197	2032	197	73
47	1160	559	601	1157	3	852	252	53
48	1681	673	1008	1681	0	1441	207	33
49	2244	995	1249	2239	5	1557	555	127
50	2278	1087	1191	2261	17	1724	452	85
51	1390	633	757	1365	25	1050	266	49
52	1466	702	764	1347	119	923	325	99
53	1974	970	1004	1919	55	1502	282	35
54	106	50	56	106		89	15	2
55	1674	832	842	1670	4	1299	305	66
56	646	330	316	646	0	524	86	36
57	1651	807	844	1651	0	1239	321	91
58	2050	1000	1050	1998	52	1602	322	74
59	1728	792	936	1727	1	1235	395	97
60	1311	627	684	1283	28	971	243	69
61	3094	1373	1721	3078	16	2265	675	138
62	2884	1285	1599	2883	1	2150	617	116
63	1774	881	893	1624	150	1107	391	126
64	1470	704	766	1444	26	1012	322	110
65	2093	1039	1054	1896	197	1248	497	151
67	1545	786	759	1524	8	963	422	139
68	1692	842	850	1681	11	1091	447	143
69	2041	1035	1006	1951	87	1381	408	162

APPENDIX VII-Continued

District No.	Total Population	Male	Female	White	Negro	Native Wh. of Native Par.	Foreign or Mix. Par.	Foreign-Born White
70	2038	1061	977	1827	209	1473	253	101
71	2063	1148	715	2043	19	1637	294	112
72	2605	1324	1281	2568	37	1822	551	195
73	1890	1230	660	1762	119	1322	284	156
75	1675	856	819	1662	13	1064	416	182
76	2047	1034	1013	2047	0	1290	570	186
77	4229	2201	2028	4095	131	2765	957	373
78	1736	946	790	1734	2	1173	427	134
80	1820	919	901	1812	8	1192	446	174
81	2185	1139	1046	2185	0	1244	66	280
82	4384	2289	2095	4270	90	2851	1006	413
84	2112	1050	1062	2109	2	1526	464	119
85	1436	751	685	1436	0	1145	244	47
86	1324	667	657	1324	0	1029	242	53
87	1771	919	852	1771	0	1333	325	113

APPENDIX VIII

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE FIFTY-FOUR DISTRICTS DIVIDED
AS TO CATHOLIC, LUTHERAN, OTHER PROTESTANT AND
TOTAL WITH PERCENTAGE OF EACH

District No.	Catholic		Lutheran		Other Protestant		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
26	140	9.48	59	4.00	32	2.17	231	15.64
27	164	13.37	15	1.22	50	4.08	229	18.67
28	124	14.44	1	.12	104	12.11	229	26.67
30	252	18.56	25	1.84	117	8.62	394	29.02
31	252	16.60	6	.40	69	4.55	327	50.57
32	264	15.57	12	.71	60	3.54	336	19.86
33	400	18.61	85	3.96	177	7.77	662	30.34
34	276	24.60	61	5.44	110	9.80	447	39.84
35	380	20.23	51	3.25	209	11.13	650	34.61
36	492	27.14	52	2.87	209	11.53	753	41.54
37	260	17.89	41	2.82	162	11.15	463	31.86
38	300	15.71	75	3.93	276	18.99	651	38.63
39	248	7.96	64	2.06	221	7.10	533	17.14
42	136	10.34	9	.68	43	3.27	188	14.29
43	244	10.50	6	.26	132	5.68	382	16.44
45	412	12.28	41	1.22	116	3.46	569	16.96
46	96	2.72	4	.11	27	.76	127	3.59
47	164	14.14	43	3.71	190	16.38	397	34.23
48	164	9.76	30	1.78	236	14.04	430	25.58
49	308	13.73	65	2.90	485	21.61	858	38.24
50	308	13.52	44	1.93	178	7.81	530	23.26
51	220	15.83	20	1.44	253	18.20	493	35.47
52	164	11.19	56	3.82	144	9.82	364	24.83
53	156	7.90	54	2.74	129	6.53	339	17.17
54	12	11.32	00	0.00	10	9.43	22	20.75
55	316	18.88	92	5.50	243	14.52	651	38.90
56	164	25.39	65	10.06	97	15.02	326	50.47
57	236	14.29	142	8.60	244	14.78	622	37.67
58	280	13.66	93	4.54	180	8.78	553	26.98
59	324	18.75	89	5.15	215	12.44	628	36.34
60	104	7.93	59	4.60	147	11.21	310	23.20
61	354	11.44	95	3.07	447	14.45	896	28.96
62	444	15.40	72	2.50	545	18.89	1061	36.79
63	396	22.32	56	3.16	55	3.10	507	28.58
64	240	16.33	100	7.41	41	2.79	390	26.53

APPENDIX VIII-Continued

District No.	Catholic		Lutheran		Other Protestant		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
65	753	35.98	46	2.20	24	1.14	823	39.32
67	308	19.94	109	7.06	26	1.03	443	28.03
68	316	18.68	75	4.43	22	1.30	413	24.41
69	472	23.13	51	2.50	17	.83	540	26.46
70	96	4.71	19	.93	60	2.93	175	8.57
71	68	3.30	30	1.45	46	2.23	144	6.98
72	248	9.52	71	2.73	51	1.96	370	14.21
73	108	5.71	25	1.32	13	.69	146	7.72
75	160	9.55	105	6.27	25	1.49	290	17.31
76	200	9.77	245	11.97	14	.68	459	22.42
77	356	8.41	169	4.00	41	.97	566	13.38
78	80	4.60	67	3.86	14	.81	161	9.27
80	352	19.34	179	9.84	34	1.81	565	30.99
81	384	17.57	328	15.01	8	.37	720	32.95
82	892	20.35	138	3.15	27	.61	1057	24.11
84	228	10.80	140	6.63	140	6.63	508	24.06
85	84	5.85	32	2.23	56	3.90	172	11.93
86	116	8.76	36	2.72	42	3.11	194	14.59
87	228	12.87	38	2.15	64	3.50	330	18.52

APPENDIX IX

DELINQUENCY RATES IN THE FIFTY-FOUR DISTRICTS
BASED ON POPULATION AGES FIVE TO TWENTY*

District No.	Population Five to Twenty	Number of Delinquents	Rate
26	431	20	4.64
27	291	18	6.19
28	192	8	4.15
30	286	5	1.75
31	301	13	4.32
32	397	27	6.80
33	555	14	2.52
34	247	4	1.62
35	474	8	1.69
36	435	4	.92
37	387	8	2.07
38	388	10	2.58
39	690	33	4.78
42	172	7	5.30
43	291	16	5.50
45	679	41	6.04
46	918	29	3.16
47	216	3	1.39
48	276	3	1.09
49	550	1	.18
50	466	2	.43
51	341	1	.29
52	355	15	4.48
53	434	25	5.76
54	29	0	.00
55	438	11	2.51
56	148	2	1.35
57	404	8	1.98
58	534	15	2.81
59	399	8	2.01
60	406	11	2.71
61	723	11	1.52
62	725	7	.97
63	423	19	4.49
64	416	17	4.09
65	647	49	7.57
67	477	21	4.40
68	458	18	3.93
69	621	47	7.57
70	414	21	5.07

APPENDIX IX-Continued

District No.	Population Five to Twenty	Number of Delinquents	Rate
71	350	22	6.29
72	657	42	6.39
73	303	32	10.56
75	335	13	3.88
76	386	11	2.85
77	878	40	4.56
78	485	9	1.86
80	520	13	2.50
81	630	16	2.49
82	1271	67	5.27
84	490	4	.82
85	418	10	2.39
86	392	11	2.81
87	457	21	4.60

*Delinquents were those appearing before Probation Officers of County, January 1, 1930 to November 30, 1937.

APPENDIX X

BASIC ECONOMIC DATA OF THE FIFTY-FOUR CENSUS ENUMERATION
DISTRICTS; RELIEF CASES AND RATE, AVERAGE RENT PAID,
AVERAGE PROPERTY VALUE, AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME
AND PERCENTAGE OF OWNER OCCUPIED RESIDENCES

District No.	No. of Relief Cases	Relief Rate	Average Rent	Average Property Value	Average Annual Income	Per Cent Owner Occupied
26	37	2.50	\$19.03	\$3502.	\$1201.	44
27	35	2.85	20.39	3163	1356	40
28	13	1.51	31.36	6308	1773	43
30	14	1.03	27.81	4175	1360	35
31	51	3.36	23.00	5666	1247	34
32	81	4.78	22.92	3666	1276	40
33	3	.14	32.67	6004	2063	66
34	7	.62	36.25	5222	1855	72
35	4	.21	30.28	5269	1788	65
36	3	.17	35.22	5483	2114	71
37	7	.48	33.11	4717	1672	57
38	8	.42	33.92	5313	1951	50
39	51	1.64	32.28	5427	1758	28
42	27	2.05	29.21	5750	850	10
43	87	3.74	31.64	9418	1463	17
45	132	4.93	27.22	4933	1235	20
46	213	6.03	16.85	5833	600	15
47	4	.34	44.45	5170	2246	50
48	6	.36	52.45	11036	3406	33
49	1	.04	46.39	8532	3575	74
50	7	.31	52.10	5210	2015	46
51	4	.29	36.72	7444	2540	58
52	19	1.30	51.22	5153	2553	41
53	41	2.08	43.22	6932	1789	33
54	0	.00	48.00	14614	6350	84
55	4	.24	42.20	6787	2601	72
56	1	.15	32.22	6147	2083	69
57	7	.42	34.78	5704	1944	60
58	13	.63	31.61	5635	1960	58
59	7	.41	38.52	6191	2209	63
60	15	1.14	28.50	5819	2178	56
61	10	.32	37.75	7798	2263	58
62	3	.10	39.67	7820	3124	66
63	62	3.49	19.76	3214	1114	40
64	22	1.50	20.25	2753	1130	54
65	82	3.92	17.70	2766	1046	34
67	12	.78	19.76	3282	1174	57
68	26	1.54	21.64	3562	1339	63
69	127	6.22	16.95	2769	942	35

APPENDIX X -Continued

District No.	No. of Relief Cases	Relief Rate	Average Rent	Average Property Value	Average Annual Income	Per Cent Owner Occupied
70	64	3.14	\$25.03	\$4255.	\$1088.	29
71	98	4.75	26.45	4791	1216	32
72	153	5.87	23.08	3650	1262	27
73	169	8.94	22.06	3969	964	18
75	42	2.51	17.11	2199	852	62
76	28	1.37	18.97	2826	1157	66
77	151	3.57	17.03	2748	1094	42
78	25	1.44	19.67	2519	960	54
80	30	1.65	18.81	3345	1260	62
81	34	1.56	19.70	3048	1024	59
82	198	4.52	19.28	2936	1028	36
84	11	.52	26.78	4720	1466	64
85	15	1.04	21.20	2507	1219	60
86	27	2.04	25.47	3486	1504	66
87	27	1.52	22.75	3187	1211	57

APPENDIX XI

Dear Sir or Madam:

We seek your cooperation in a study which the Sociology Department of Bradley College is making on the matter of unsatisfactory marriages. We know that you are interested in this problem, and we need your help. We feel that there is a great need for the thorough understanding of this great question, and we are dependent upon those who have had marriage difficulties.

The enclosed questionnaire seeks to gain some facts which will be of great service in this study. THE ANSWERS GIVEN BY YOU WILL BE USED ONLY FOR SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES. BY THIS WE MEAN THAT WHEN DATA IS REFERRED TO--NO NAMES WILL BE MENTIONED.

Will you not take fifteen minutes of your time to give the facts? In most cases, to answer the questions--all that is requested is the underlining of a word or phrase.

You will notice that we do not ask your name, but if you would like to give it, and further, if you would favor us with an interview, please place your name and address at the end of the questionnaire.

.....
Head Department of Sociology

DIRECTIONS FOR FILLING
IN QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Where there are blanks, write the answer.
 2. Where there is a series of words, underline your answer.
 3. In question 30, underline the number that indicates your last completed year in school.
1. (a) Date of marriage. (month and year).....
(b) At what age were you married?.....
 2. Where married: home; church; elsewhere (specify).....
 3. Married by whom: minister; other person (specify).....
 4. Number of different residences since marriage.....
 5. During your marriage have you ever lived with any of the following, and if so, for how long:
husband's parents; wife's parents; husband's relatives; wife's relatives; other (specify).....always lived alone.
 6. How far did you live from husband's parents.....
wife's parents.....
 7. How many times a year did you see husband's parents....wife's parents.....
 8. Were your parents divorced?.....If so, with which parent did you live.....

APPENDIX XI-Continued

9. Were you buying a home; planning to buy a home.
Type of home occupied: one-family; two-family; apartment.
10. Number of children born....did husband want children....
did wife.....
11. Number of different occupations held by husband during marriage.....
12. Number of different occupations held by wife during marriage.....
13. Your church attendance during marriage: not at all; less than once a month; once a month; twice; three times; four times.
Did you go to same church as wife or to a different one.....
14. Your church attendance since divorce: none; less than once a month; once a month; twice; three times; four times.
15. Religious affiliation at last marriage: church preference (specify).....
Activity in church before last marriage: member; never attended; less than once a month; once a month; twice; three times; four times; held office; sang in choir; attended prayer meetings; member of young people's society in church; other activity.....
16. Sunday School: at what age did you stop going to Sunday School or other religious school for children.....never went; 10 yrs. or younger; 11-14 yrs; 15-18 yrs; 19-25 yrs; still going at time of last marriage.
17. Your chief interests (other than vocation): politics; theatres; religious activity; reading; movies; social life; friends; none;
sports (specify).....
hobbies (specify).....
other (specify).....
18. To what extent did you and husband (wife) have the same interests?
all of them; some of them; very few of them; none at all.
19. In leisure time did husband prefer to be "on the go"; to stay at home;
20. Did wife prefer to be "on the go"; to stay at home.

APPENDIX XI-Continued

21. State approximate extent of agreement or disagreement on the following:

Check one for each item below	Always agreed	Almost always agreed	Occasion- ly disagreed	Frequent- ly disagreed	Almost always dis- agreed	Always dis- agreed
handling family finances						
matters of recreation						
religious matters						
demonstra- tions of affection						
friends						
relations						
caring for baby						
table manners						
ways of dealing with in- laws						

22. Specify other matters of disagreement.....
When disagreements arose, they usually resulted in: husband giving in; wife giving in; agreement by mutual give and take.
23. Did you ever wish you had not married: frequently; occasion-ally; rarely; never.
24. If you had your life to live over do you think you would have: married the same person; married a different person; not married at all.
25. Did you confide in your husband (wife)? almost never; rarely; in most things; in everything.
26. Check which of the following were your two main reasons for marrying: to please parents; to escape your family; for money; for business reasons; social custom; loneliness; to have a home; romantic love; in order to give name to child; other.....
27. What things did your husband (wife) do that you did not like?
28. What things annoyed and dissatisfied you most about your marriage?
29. Before your last marriage, were you: single; widowed; divorced; If married before, state how many times.....

APPENDIX XI-Continued

30. How far did you go in school before marriage?
 Grades High School College
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
 Number of years beyond college in graduate or professional
 work.....Training in what profession?
31. Childhood and adolescence was spent mainly in: city; small
 town; country.
32. Are you a man or woman?
33. Sex instruction: by whom; mother; father; teacher; books;
 magazines; friend; gang; friends.
34. Were you given instructions concerning married life before
 your marriage? By whom?
35. Were you in good health when you were married?.....
 Was your husband (or wife).....
36. Reasons for divorce:
 non-support; cruelty; other woman in case; other man in case;
 sex difficulty; drunkenness; relatives; too-frequent child
 bearing; poverty; church differences; loneliness; personal
 irritation; different tastes; different interests; boarders;
 roomers; failure to have children; deceitfulness; poor
 housekeeping; jealousy; racial differences; political differ-
 ences; educational differences; difference over money matters.
37. On what legal ground did you obtain a divorce?
38. What advice would you give to a young person concerning
 marriage?

APPENDIX XII

Dear Sir or Madam:

For the past two years, the Department of Sociology of Bradley College has been making a study of divorce. Several hundred divorced people have answered questionnaires similar to the one herewith presented. In order to make the study complete, it is necessary for us to have similar questionnaires answered by people who have not received divorces and in general whose marriage experiences have been satisfactory. We are asking you to co-operate with us in this study.

THE ANSWERS GIVEN BY YOU WILL BE USED FOR SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES ONLY. THAT IS, WHEN THE DATA IS REFERRED TO, NO NAMES WILL BE MENTIONED.

Will you not take fifteen minutes of your time to give us the facts? In most cases, to answer the questions all that is required is the underlining of a word or phrase.

You will notice that we do not ask your name and it is satisfactory to us if you desire to remain entirely anonymous. However, if you care to, we would appreciate it if you will sign your name with the idea that, for a future detailed study, you might be willing to have us interview you for further facts.

Sincerely yours,

.....
Head of Department of Sociology

DIRECTIONS FOR FILLING
IN QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Where there are blank spaces, write the answer.
 2. Where there is a series of words, underline the one which gives your answer. If there is no word that fits your case, please use one of your own choosing.
 3. In question 31, underline the number that indicates your last completed year in school.
1. (a) Date of marriage. (month and year).....
(b) At what age were you married?.....
 2. Where married: home; church; elsewhere (specify).....
 3. Married by whom: minister; other person (specify).....
 4. Number of different residences since marriage.....
 5. During your marriage have you ever lived with any of the following, and if so, for how long:
husband's parents; wife's parents; husband's relatives;
wife's relatives; other (specify).....always lived alone.
 6. How far do you live from husband's parents.....

APPENDIX XII-Continued

6. From wife's parents.....
7. How many times a year do you see husband's parents.....
wife's parents.....
8. Did your parents have a marriage that was: very happy;
happy; average; unhappy; very unhappy. If divorced, with
which parent did you live?.....
9. Are you buying a home; planning to buy a home?
Type of home occupied: one-family; two-family; apartment.
10. Number of children born.....Did husband want children....
Did wife.....
11. Number of different occupations held by husband during
marriage.....
12. Number of different occupations held by wife during marriage
.....
13. Your church attendance during marriage: not at all; less
than once a month; once a month; twice; three times; four
times. Do you go to same church as wife (or husband) or to
a different one?.....
14. Your church attendance before marriage: none; less than
once a month; once a month; twice; three times; four times.
15. If married before, what was your religious affiliation dur-
ing previous marriage: church preference (specify).....
Activity in church before marriage: member; never attended;
less than once a month; once a month; twice; three times;
four times; held office; sang in choir; attended prayer
meetings; member of young people's society in church; other
activity.....
16. Sunday School: at what age did you stop going to Sunday
School or other religious school for children.....never
went; 10 years or younger; 11-14 yrs; 15-18 yrs; still
attending.
17. Your chief interests (other than vocation): politics;
theatres; religious activity; reading; movies; social life;
friends; none; sports (specify).....
hobbies (specify).....
other (specify).....
18. To what extent do you and husband (wife) have the same
interests?
All of them; some of them; very few of them; none at all.
19. In leisure time does husband prefer to be "on the go"; to
stay at home?
20. Does wife prefer to be "on the go"; to stay at home.
21. State approximate extent of agreement or disagreement on the
following items:

APPENDIX XII-Continued

Check one for each item below	Always agree	Almost al- ways agree	Occasionally disagree	Frequent- ly disa- greed	Almost always disa- gree	Always Disa- gree
Handling family finances						
Matters of Recreation						
Religious matters						
Demonstra- tions of affection						
Friends						
Relatives						
Caring for baby						
Table manners						
Ways of dealing with in- laws						

22. Specify other matters of disagreement.....
When disagreements arise, they usually result in: husband giving in; wife giving in; agreement by mutual give and take.
23. Do you ever wish you had not married: frequently; occasionally; rarely; never.
24. If you had your life to live over do you think you would have: married the same person; married a different person; not married at all.
25. Do you confide in your husband (wife)? almost never; rarely; in most things; in everything.
26. Check which of the following were your two main reasons for marrying: to please parents; to escape your family; for money; for business reasons; social custom; loneliness; to have a home; romantic love; in order to give name to child; to improve health; other.....
27. What things does your husband (wife) do that you do not like?
28. Has your marriage been: very happy; happy; average; unhappy; very unhappy.
29. What things annoy and dissatisfy you most about your marriage?

APPENDIX XII-Continued

30. Before your marriage, were you: single; widowed; divorced.
If married before, state how many times.....
31. How far did you go in school before marriage?
Grades- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 High School- 1 2 3 4 College-1
2 3 4. Number of years beyond college in graduate or professional work.....Training in what profession?
32. Childhood and adolescence was spent mainly in: city;
small town; country.
33. Are you a man or woman?
34. Sex instruction, by whom: mother; father; teacher; books;
magazines; friend; gang; friends; others (specify).....
35. Were you given instructions concerning married life before
your marriage? By whom?
36. Were you in good health when you were married.....Was
your husband (or wife).....
37. What advice would you give to a young person concerning
marriage?
38. Are you now contemplating separation or divorce?.....
if so, for what reason?

APPENDIX XIII

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVORCE

1. Underline the word which most nearly states your attitude toward divorce:

Trifling; not serious; unimportant; important; alarming; disastrous.

2. As an employer or if you were an employer underline the statement which expresses your attitude:

I would not, under any circumstances, employ a divorced (man, woman) (underline either or both)

I would employ a divorced person as readily as another.

I would employ divorced persons under certain circumstances.

If your attitude is expressed by the last statement, please give briefly what the "certain circumstances" would be. _____

3. Would divorced persons be accepted in your social group as readily as other persons? _____ Do you speak from experience or observation? (Underline)

4. Please underline and fill in the appropriate blanks in the following:

My home is in Peoria and has been for _____ years.

I have lived in Peoria all my life.

I have lived in: rural region _____ years; small town _____ years; (give approximate population _____); large city _____ years; (give population) _____.

5. Please add any thought that you may have that might be of value to one making a study of divorce in the local community.

6. Do you marry divorced persons? _____. If so, does the procedure vary from that of other marriages?

7. What, if anything, do you do before performing a marriage ceremony to impress the couple with the importance and permanency of marriage?

Nothing.

Give them book or pamphlet. Title and Author _____

Have conference with them.

8. In your experience have you found that the divorced persons who come to you to be remarried have received their divorces in Peoria? _____ Elsewhere? _____.

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